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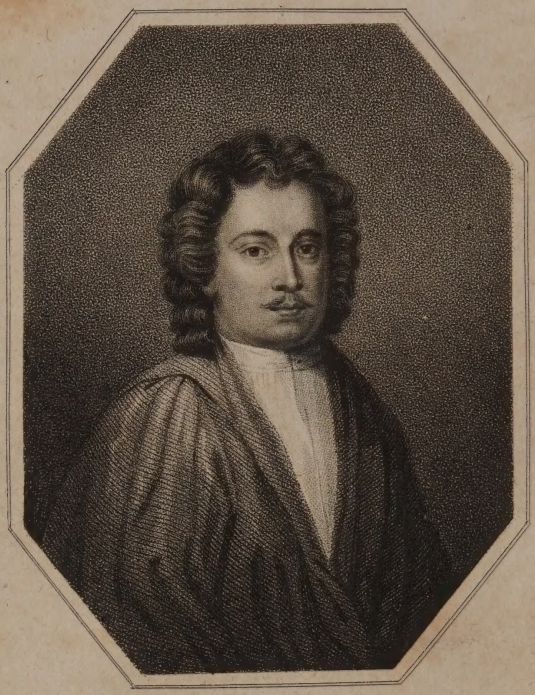

HENRY MAUNDRELL, M.A.

From an original Drawing in the Possession of R. Dagley, Esq.r

London, Published by R. Edwards, Jan.y 18th 1811.

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A

JOURNEY

FROM

ALEPPO TO JERUSALEM,

AT EASTER, A. D. 1697.

BY HENRY MAUNDRELL, M. A.

LATE FELLOW OF EXETER COLLEGE, OXFORD, AND CHAPLAIN TO THE FACTORY AT ALEPPO.

ALSO,

A JOURNAL

FROM

GRAND CAIRO TO MOUNT SINAI,

AND BACK AGAIN.

Translated from a Manuscript written by the Prefetto of Egypt,

BY THE RIGHT REV. ROBERT CLAYTON,

LORD BISHOP OF CLOGHER.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

A FAITHFUL ACCOUNT

OF THE

Religion and Manners of the Mahometans.

BY JOSEPH PITTS.

London:

PRINTED AND SOLD BY RICHARD EDWARDS,

CRANE COURT, FLEET STREET.

1810.

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A

JOURNEY

FROM

ALEPPO TO JERUSALEM,

AT EASTER, A. D. 1697.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

AN ACCOUNT OF THE AUTHOR'S JOURNEY

TO THE

BANKS OF THE EUPHRATES AT BEER,

AND

TO THE COUNTRY OF MESOPOTAMIA.

BY HENRY MAUNDRELL, M. A.

LATE FELLOW OF EXETER COLLEGE, OXFORD, AND CHAPLAIN TO THE FACTORY AT ALEPPO.

THE TENTH EDITION.

TO

THE RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD

THOMAS,

LORD BISHOP OF ROCHESTER.

MY LORD,

FROM a large and constant experience of your Lordship's favour, I have all reason to believe that you will not think it tedious to hear something of my affairs, though in themselves below your Lordship's notice and regard.

It is now more than a twelvemonth since I arrived in this place, during all which time, I have had opportunity enough perfectly to observe and discover the genius of the Factory, among whom my lot is fallen; and upon the result of all my experience of them, I am obliged to give them this just commendation, that they are a society, highly meriting that excellent character which is given of them in England, and which (besides the general vogue) your Lordship has sometime received from a most faithful and judicious hand, the excellent bishop Frampton. As he undoubtedly was the great improver of the rare temper of this society, so he may well be esteemed best able to give them their true and deserved character. I need only add, that such they still continue, as that incomparable instructor left them, that is, pious, sober, benevolent, devout in the offices of religion; in conversation innocently cheerful; given to no pleasures, but such as are honest and manly; to no communications, but such as the nicest ears need not be offended at; exhibiting in all their actions those best and truest signs of a Christian spirit, a sincere and cheerful friendship among themselves, a generous character toward others, and a pro-

found reverence for the liturgy and constitution of the church of England. It is our first employment every morning to solemnize the daily service of the church; at which I am sure to have always a devout, a regular, and full congregation. In a word, I can say no more (and less I am sure I ought not) than this, that in all my experience in the world, I have never known a society of young gentlemen, whether in the city or country (I had almost said the university too), so well disposed in all points as this.

Your Lordship will conclude, that in consequence of all this, my present station cannot but be very agreeable; and though in leaving England, I was separated from the greatest blessings to me in the world, your Lordship's kindness, and that of my friends at Richmond, yet I must own, I have found here as much recompence, as could be made for such a separation.

Among other satisfactions, one great one which I have had since my arrival, was a voyage to the Holy Land, in company with fourteen others of our Factory. We went by way of the coast, and having visited the several places consecrated by the life and death of our Blessed Lord, we returned by way of Damascus. If there be any thing either in these places which I have visited, or elsewhere in these countries, touching which I may be capable of giving your Lordship any satisfaction, by my poor observations, I should esteem it my great happiness, and my coming thus far would seem compleatly recompensed.

I entreat your Lordship's blessing,

As being your Lordship's most dutiful

Humble Servant,

HENRY MAUNDRELL.

TO

MY EVER HONOURED UNCLE

SIR CHARLES HEDGES, Kt.

JUDGE OF THE HIGH COURT

OF

ADMIRALTY OF ENGLAND.

SIR,

I AM sensible of two general defects (and you will soon observe a great many more) running through this whole paper, which might justly deter me from presenting it to a person of your great learning and judgment. One is, frequent errors; the other, tediousness. But it is your pleasure to require it from me as it is: and I am sure whatever faults there may be in it, yet there can be none so great, as it would be for me to dispute your injunctions. I have nothing to do, therefore, but to recommend it to your favour, as it is offered up to your commands, with all its imperfections about it: only putting in a word or two, before I dismiss it, by way of apology.

And first, as to the errors which you will be sure to note in it, I have this mitigation to offer; that in a swift and transient view of places (such as mine was), it was hardly possible for me not to be sometimes overseen: but, however, this I profess with a clear conscience, that whatever mistakes there may be, yet there are no lies.

As to the tediousness of the relations, the only defence I have, is by sheltering myself in the crowd: for it is a frailty more or less incident to most men, especially travellers, to abound both in the sense they have, and in the accounts they give, of their own actions and occurrences. If we light of any thing worth noting, we are apt to overflow in speaking of it; and too often we fall into that greater folly of recording such things for very considerable

ones, as any disinterested person would be ready to think, we could have no inducement to regard, but only because they relate to our ownselves.

This is an affectation, which, however tasteful it may be to the persons who use it, yet (I know by my own resentments of it) is to others most grating and disgustful.

When you come, therefore, to any such nauseous places in this Journal, you may please to pass them over with that contempt which they deserve, but, nevertheless with some indulgence to the Writer of them; for if this vanity may be ever tolerated, travellers are the men who have the best claim to that favour. For it seems but a reasonable allowance, that they, who go through so many hazards and fatigues for the entertainment of others, should in requittal for all, be indulged a little in this sweet folly.

I might in some measure, have remedied the fault I am now apologizing for, by rescinding the dry part of the Journal; describing roads and distances, and bearings of places. But I considered, that this, though dry, was not without its use. And besides, when I began to obliterate, I soon found that if I should go on, and strike out all that I thought not worth writing to you, there would in the end, be nothing but an universal blot.

Be pleased, therefore, to accept the whole as it was first set down, without addition, or diminution; do with it as you please. When you are tired with reading it, you may support your patience as we did in travelling it over, by considering, that what you are about is a pilgrimage; that you need go it but once; and that it is the proper nature and design of such performances, to have something in them of mortification.

Honoured Sir,

I am,

Your most dutiful Nephew,

and obliged humble Servant,

HENRY MAUNDRELL

PROSPECT OF ALEPPO.

London Published by R. Edwards.

A

JOURNEY

FROM

ALEPPO TO JERUSALEM,

AT EASTER, A. D. 1697.

THERE being several gentlemen of our nation (fourteen in number) determined for a visit to the Holy Land, at the approaching Easter, I resolved, though but newly come to Aleppo, to make one in the same design: considering that as it was my purpose to undertake this pilgrimage some time or other, before my return to England, so I could never do it, either with less prejudice to my cure, or with greater pleasure to myself, than at this juncture; having so large a part of my congregation abroad at the same time, and in my company.

Pursuant to this resolution, we set out from Aleppo, Friday, February 26, 1696, at three in the afternoon, intending to make only a short step that evening, in order to prove how well we were provided with necessaries for our journey. Our quarters this first night, we took up at the Honey-

kane; a place of but indifferent accommodation, about one hour and a half west of Aleppo.

It must here be noted, that, in travelling this country, a man does not meet with a market-town, and inns, every night, as in England: the best reception you can find here, is either under your own tent, if the season permit; or else in certain public lodgments founded in charity for the use of travellers. These are called by the Turks, *Kanes;* and are seated sometimes in the towns and villages; sometimes at convenient distances upon the open road. They are built in fashion of a cloister, encompassing a court of thirty or forty yards square, more or less, according to the measure of the founder's ability or charity. At these places all comers are free to take shelter; paying only a small fee to the kane-keeper, and very often without that acknowledgment. But must expect nothing here generally but bare walls: as for other accommodations, of meat, drink, bed, fire, provender; with these it must be every one's care to furnish himself.

Saturday, Feb. 27.—From the Honey-kane we parted very early the next morning; and proceeding westerly as the day before, arrived in one hour and half at Oo-rem; an old village, affording nothing remarkable but the ruins of a small church. From Oo-rem we came in half an hour to Keffre; and in three quarters more to Essoyn. At this last place we entered into the plains of Kefteen: proceeding in which, we came in one

hour to another village called Legene, and half an hour more to Hozano, and in a good hour more to Kefteen. Our whole stage this day was about five hours, our course a little southerly of the west.

The plains of Kefteen are of a vast compass; extending to the southward beyond the reach of the eye, and in most places very fruitful and well cultivated. At our first descent into them at Essoyn, we counted twenty-four villages, or places at a distance resembling villages, within our view from one station. The soil is of a reddish colour, very loose and hollow; and you see hardly a stone in it. Whereas on its west side there runs along for many miles together a high ridge of hills, discovering nothing but vast naked rocks, without the least sign of mould, or any useful production: which yields an appearance, as if nature had, as it were, in kindness to the husbandman, purged the whole plain of these stones, and piled them all up together in that one mountain. Kefteen itself is a large plentiful village on the west side of the plain. And the adjacent fields abounding with corn, give the inhabitants great advantage for breeding pigeons: insomuch, that you find here more dove-cots than other houses. We saw at this place, over the door of a bagnio, a marble stone, carved with the sign of the ⊕ and the Δόξα Πατεὶ, &c. with a date not legible. It was probably the portal of some church, in ancient times: for I was assured by the inhabitants of the village, that there are many ruins of churches and con-

vents still to be seen in the neighbouring rocky mountains.

Sunday, Feb. 28.—Having a long stage to go this day, we left Kefteen very early: and continuing still in the same fruitful plain abounding in corn, olives, and vines, we came in three quarters of an hour to Harbanoose; a small village situated at the extremity of the plain. Where, after crossing a small ascent, we came into a very rich valley called Rooge. It runs to the south farther than one can discern, but in breadth, from east to west, it extends not above an hour's riding; and is walled in (as it were) on both sides, with high rocky mountains. Having travelled in this valley near four hours, we came to a large water called the lake (or rather, according to the oriental style, the sea) of Rooge. Through the skirt of this lake we were obliged to pass; and found it no small trouble to get our horses, and much more our loaded mules through the water and mire. But all the sea was so dried up, and the road so perfectly amended at our return, that we could not then discern so much as where the place was, which had given so great trouble. From this lake, we arrived in one hour at Te-ne-ree; a place where we paid our first caphar.

These caphars are certain duties which travellers are obliged to pay, at several passes upon the road, to officers, who attend in their appointed stations to receive them. They were at first levied by Christians, to yield a recompence to the coun-

try for maintaining the ways in good repair, and scouring them from Arabs, and robbers. The Turks keep up so gainful an usage still, pretending the same causes for it. But under that pretence they take occasion to exact from passengers, especially Franks, arbitrary and unreasonable sums; and instead of being a safeguard, prove the greatest rogues and robbers themselves.

At a large hour beyond this caphar, our road led us over the mountains, on the west side of the valley of Rooge. We were near an hour in crossing them, after which we descended into another valley running parallel to the former, and parted from it only by the last ridge of hills. At the first descent into this valley is a village called Bell-Maez, from which we came in two hours to Shoggle. Our course was for the most part of this day, west-south-west. Our stage in all, ten hours.

Shoggle is a pretty large, but exceeding filthy town, situated on the river Orontes: over which you pass by a bridge of thirteen small arches to come at the town. The river hereabouts is of a good breadth; and yet so rapid, that it turns great wheels, made for lifting up the water, by its natural swiftness, without any force added to it, by confining its stream. Its waters are turbid, and very unwholesome, and its fish worse; as we found by experience, there being no person of all our company that had eaten of them over night, but found himself much indisposed the next morning. We lodged here in a very large and handsome kane, far exceeding what is usually seen in

this sort of buildings. It was founded by the second Cuperli, and endowed with a competent revenue, for supplying every traveller that takes up his quarters in it, with a competent portion of bread, and broth, and flesh, which is always ready for those that demand it, as very few people of the country fail to do. There is annexed to the kane, on its west side, another quadrangle, containing apartments for a certain number of almsmen; the charitable donation of the same Cuperli. The kane we found at our arrival, crowded with a great number of Turkish hadgees, or pilgrims, bound for Meccha. But nevertheless we met with a peaceable reception amongst them, though our faces were set to a different place.

Monday, March 1.—From Shoggle our road led us at first westerly, in order to our crossing the mountain on that side of the valley. We arrived at the foot of the ascent in half an hour, but met with such rugged and foul ways in the mountains, that it took us up two hours to get clear of them. After which we descended into a third valley, resembling the other two which we had passed before. At the first entrance into it, is a village called Be-da-me, giving the same name also to the valley. Having travelled about two hours in this valley, we entered into a woody mountainous country, which ends the bashalick of Aleppo, and begins that of Tripoli. Our road here was very rocky, and uneven; but yet the variety which it afforded, made some amends for that inconve-

nience. Sometimes it led us under the cool shade of thick trees: sometimes through narrow vallies, watered with fresh murmuring torrents: and then for a good while together upon the brink of a precipice. And in all places it treated us with the prospect of plants, and flowers of divers kinds: as myrtles, oleanders, cyclamens, anemonies, tulips, marygolds, and several other sorts of aromatic herbs. Having spent about two hours in this manner, we descended into a low valley; at the bottom of which is a fissure into the earth, of a great depth; but withal so narrow, that it is not discernible to the eye till you arrive just upon it: though to the ear a notice of it is given at a great distance, by reason of the noise of a stream running down into it from the hills. We could not guess it to be less than thirty yards deep. But it is so narrow that a small arch, not four yards over, lands you on its other side. They call it the Sheck's Wife: a name given it from a woman of that quality, who fell into it, and, I need not add, perished. The depth of the channel, and the noise of the water, are so extraordinary, that one cannot pass over it without something of horror. The sides of this fissure are firm and solid rock, perpendicular and smooth, only seeming to lie in a wavy form all down, as it were to comply with the motion of the water. From which observation we were led to conjecture, that the stream, by a long and perpetual current had, as it were, sawn its own channel down into this unusual deepness: to which effect the water being penned up

in so narrow a passage, and its hurling down stones along with it by its rapidity, may have not a little contributed.

From hence, continuing our course through a road resembling that before described, we arrived in one hour at a small even part of ground called Hadyar ib Sultane, or the Sultan's Stone. And here we took up our quarters this night under our tents. Our road this day pointed for the most part south-west, and the whole of our stage was about seven hours and a half.

Tuesday, March 2.—We were glad to part very early this morning from our campagnia lodging; the weather being yet too moist and cold for such discipline. Continuing our journey through woods and mountains, as the day before, we arrived in about one hour at the caphar of Crusia, which is demanded near a kane of that name; a kane they call it, though it be in truth nothing else, but a cold comfortless ruin on the top of a hill by the way side.

From hence in about another hour we arrived at the foot of a mountain called Occaby; or as the word denotes, difficult, and indeed we found its ascent fully answerable to its name. The moisture and slipperiness of the way at this time, added to the steepness of it, greatly increased our labour in ascending it; insomuch that we were a full hour in gaining the top of the hill. Here we found no more woods or hills, but a fine country, well cultivated and planted with silk gar-

dens: through which, leaving on the right hand a village called Citte Galle, inhabited solely by Maronites, we came in one hour to Bellulca. Here we repaired to a place which is both the kane of the village and the Aga's house; and resolving by reason of the rains, which fell very plentifully, to make this our lodging, we went to visit the Aga with a small present in our hands, in order to procure ourselves a civil reception. But we found little recompence from his Turkish gratitude, for after all our respect to him, it was not without much importunity that we obtained to have the use of a dry part of the house; the place where we were at first lodged lying open to the wind and the beating in of the rain. Our whole stage this day was not much above four hours; our course about south-west.

Being informed that here were several Christian inhabitants in this place, we went to visit their church, which we found so poor and pitiful a structure, that here Christianity seemed to be brought to its humblest state, and Christ to be laid again in a manger. It was only a room of about four or five yards square, walled with dirt, having nothing but the uneven ground for its pavement; and for its ceiling only some rude traves laid athwart it, and covered with bushes to keep out the weather. On the east side was an altar, built of the same materials with the wall; only it was paved at top with potsherds and slates, to give it the face of a table. In the middle of the altar stood a small cross, composed of two laths nailed

together in the middle: on each side of which ensign were fastened to the wall two or three old prints, representing our blessed Lord and the blessed Virgin, &c. the venerable presents of some itinerant fryars, that had passed this way. On the south side was a piece of plank supported by a post, which we understood was the reading desk, just by which was a little hole, commodiously broke through the wall to give light to the reader. A very mean habitation this for the God of Heaven! But yet held in great esteem and reverence by the poor people; who not only come with all devotion hither themselves, but also deposit here whatever is most valuable to them, in order to derive upon it a blessing. When we were there, the whole room was hanged about with bags of silkworms' eggs; to the end that by remaining in so holy a place, they might attract a benediction, and a virtue of increasing.

Wednesday, March 3.—The next morning flattered us with the hopes of a fair day after the great rains, which had fallen for near eight hours together. We therefore ventured to leave Bellulca, with no great thanks to it for our entertainment. But we had not gone far, before we began to wish that we had kept our former accommodation, bad as it was; for the rains began to break out afresh with greater fury than before: nor had we more comfort under foot, the road being very deep and full of sloughs. However we resolved to go forward in hopes of a better time, and in

four hours (very long ones in such uncomfortable circumstances) we arrived at Sholfatia, a poor village situate upon a small river, which we were obliged to pass. A river we might call it now, it being swollen so high by the late rains, that it was impassable; though at other times it be but a small brook, and, in the summer, perfectly dry.

Here, instead of mending our condition, as we expected, we began to drink more deeply of the bitter cup of pilgrims, being brought to such a strait, that we knew not which way to turn ourselves. For (as I said) the stream was not fordable, so that there was no going forward; and as for facing about, and returning to the place from whence we came, that was a thing we were very averse to; well knowing, by that morning's experience, the badness of the road; and likewise having reason to expect but a cold welcome at our journey's end. As for lodging in the village, that was a thing not to be endured: for the houses were all filled with dirt and nastiness, being inhabited promiscuously by the villagers and their cattle. As for lying in the campagnia, the rain was so vehement we could not do that, without an evident danger both to ourselves and horses.

But while we were at this non-plus, not knowing which course to take, the rain abated; and so we resolved to pitch in the open field, though thoroughly soaked with the wet, esteeming this however the least evil. Accordingly we betook ourselves to a small ascent by the water's side,

intending there under our tents, to wait the falling of the stream.

We had not enjoyed this cessation of rain long, when it began to pour down afresh, with terrible lightning and thunder. And now our care was renewed, and we knew not well which to be most concerned for; whether ourselves, who enjoyed the miserable comfort of a dropping tent over us, or for our servants and horses, which had nothing but their own clothes to protect them. At last there being a small shecks' house, or burying-place hard by, we comforted ourselves with hopes that we might take sanctuary there. The only difficulty was how to get admission into so reverenced a place; the Turks being generally men of greater zeal than mercy. To negotiate this affair, we sent a Turk (whom we had taken with us for such occasions) into the village; ordering him to try first by fair means to gain admittance, and if that failed, to threaten that we would enter by force. But the religion of this place was of that kind which supersedes instead of improving humanity. The people absolutely denied us the small charity we demanded; and sent us word, they would die upon our swords before they would yield to have their faith defiled: adding farther, that it was their faith to be true to Hamet and Aly, but to hate and renounce Omar and Abu Beker; and that this principle they were resolved to stand by. We told them we had as bad an opinion of Omar and Abu Beker as they could have; that we desired only a little shelter from the pre-

sent rain, and had no intention to defile their faith. And thus with good words we brought them to consent, that we might secure our baggage in the shecks' house; but as for ourselves and arms, it was our irreversible sentence to be excluded out of the hallowed walls. We were glad however to get the merciless doors open upon any terms; not doubting, but we should be able to make our advantage of it afterwards according to our desire: which we actually did; for when it grew dark, and the villagers were gone to sleep, we all got into the place of refuge, and there passed a melancholy night among the tombs: thus escaping however the greater evil of the rain, which fell all night in great abundance.

Being now crept into the inside of the shecks' house, I must not omit, in requital for our lodgings, to give some account of the nature of such structures. They are stone fabrics generally six or eight yards square (more or less), and roofed with a cupola, erected over the graves of some eminent shecks, that is, such persons, as by their long beards, prayers of the same standard, and a kind of pharisaical superciliousness (which are the great virtues of the Mahometan religion), have purchased to themselves the reputation of learning and saints.

Of these buildings there are many scattered up and down the country (for you will find among the Turks far more dead saints than living ones). They are situated commonly, though not always, upon the most eminent and conspicuous ascents.

To these oratories the people repair with their vows and prayers, in their several distresses, much after the same manner as the Romanists do to the shrines of their saints. Only in this respect the practice of the Turks seem to be more orthodox, in regard that though they make their saint's shrine the house of prayer; yet they always make God alone, and not the saint, the object of their addresses.

Thursday, March 4.—To revive us after the heaviness of the last night, we had the consolation to be informed this morning, that the river was fordable at a place a little farther down the stream; and upon experiment we found it true as was reported. Glad of this discovery, we made the best dispatch we could to get clear of this inhospitable place; and according to our desires, soon arrived with all our baggage on the other side of the river.

From hence ascending gently for about half an hour, we came to the foot of a very steep hill, which, when we had reached its top, presented us with the first prospect of the ocean. We had in view likewise at about two hours distance to the westward, the city Latichea, situate on a flat fruitful ground close to the sea; a city first built by Seleucus Nicator, and by him called in honour of his mother, Λαοδίκεια, which name it retains with a very little corruption of it at this day. It was anciently a place of great magnificence; but in the general calamity which befel this country,

it was reduced to a very low condition, and so remained for a long time; but of late years it has been encouraged to hold up its head again, and is rebuilt, and become one of the most flourishing places upon the coast; being cherished, and put in a way of trade by Coplan Aga, a man of great wealth, and authority in these parts, and much addicted to merchandise.

From the hill which we last ascended, we had a small descent into a spacious plain, along which we travelled southward, keeping the sea on the right hand, and a ridge of mountains on the left. Having gone about one hour and a half in this plain, we discerned on the left hand, not far from the road, two ancient tombs. They were chests of stone two yards and a half long each. Their cavities were covered over with large tables of stone, that had been lifted aside probably in hopes of treasure. The chests were carved on the outside with ox-heads, and wreathes hanging between them, after the manner of adorning heathen altars. They had likewise at first inscriptions graven on them: but these were so eaten out, that one could not discover so much as the species of the characters. Here were also several foundations of buildings; but whether there were ever any place of note situated hereabouts, or what it might be, I cannot resolve.

Above an hour from these tombs we came to another stream, which stopped our march again. These mountain rivers are ordinarily very inconsiderable; but they are apt to swell upon sudden

rains, to the destruction of many a passenger, who will be so hardy as to venture unadvisedly over them. We took a more successful care at this place; for marching about an hour higher up by the side of the stream, we found a place, where the waters by dilating were become shallower, and there we got a safe passage to the other side. From hence we bent our course to recover our former road again; but we had not gone far, before there began a very violent storm of hail, followed by a hard and continued rain, which forced us to make the best of our way to Jebilee, leaving our baggage to follow us at leisure.

Our whole stage this day was about six hours, pointing for the first hour west, and for the remaining part near south, having the sea on the right hand, and a ridge of mountains at about two hours distance on the left. And in this state our road continued for several days after, without any difference, save only that the mountains at some places approach nearer the sea; at other, retire farther off. These mountains go under different names in several places, as they run along upon the coast, and are inhabited by rude people of several denominations. In that part of them above Jebilee, there dwell a people, called by the Turks, *Neceres*, of a very strange and singular character. For it is their principle to adhere to no certain religion; but camelion-like, they put on the colour of religion, whatever it be, which is reflected upon them from the persons with whom they happen to converse. With Christians they

profess themselves Christians; with Turks they are good mussulmans; with Jews they pass for Jews; being such Proteuses in religion, that nobody was ever able to discover what shape or standard their consciences are really of. All that is certain concerning them is, that they make very much and good wine, and are great drinkers.

Friday, March 5.—This whole day we spent at Jebilee, to recruit ourselves after our late fatigues; having the convenience of a new kane to lodge in, built at the north entrance into the city by Ostan, the present basha of Tripoli.

Jebilee is seated close by the sea, having a vast and very fruitful plain stretching round about it, on its other sides. It makes a very mean figure at present; though it still retains the distinction of a city, and discovers evident footsteps of a better condition in former times. Its ancient name, from which also it derives its present, was Gabala; under which name it occurs in Strabo, and other old geographers. In the time of the Greek emperors, it was dignified with a bishop's see; in which sometimes sat Severian, the grand adversary and arch-conspirator against St. Chrysostom.

The most remarkable things that appear here at this day, are a mosque, and an alms-house just by it, both built by sultan Ibrahim. In the former his body is deposited, and we were admitted to see his tomb, though held by the Turks in great veneration. We found it only a great wooden chest, erected over his grave, and covered with a

carpet of painted callico, extending on all sides down to the ground. It was also tricked up with a great many long ropes of wooden beads hanging upon it, and somewhat resembling the furniture of a button-maker's shop. This is the Turks' usual way of adorning the tombs of their holy men, as I have seen in several other instances; the long strings of beads passing in this country for marks of great devotion and gravity. In this mosque we saw several large incense pots, candlesticks for altars, and other church furniture, being the spoils of Christian churches at the taking of Cyprus. Close by the mosque is a very beautiful bagnio, and a small grove of orange trees; under the shade of which travellers are wont to pitch their tents in the summer time.

The Turks that were our conductors into the mosque, entertained us with a long story of this sultan Ibrahim who lies there interred; especially touching his mortification, and renouncing the world. They reported, that having divested himself of his royalty, he retired hither, and lived twenty years in a grotto by the sea side, dedicating himself wholly to poverty and devotion: and in order to confirm the truth of their relation, they pretended to carry us to the very cell where he abode. Being come to the place, we found there a multitude of sepulchres hewn into the rocks by the sea side, according to the ancient manner of burying in this country: and amongst these they shewed one, which they averred to be the very place in which the devout sultan exercised his

twenty year's discipline; and to add a little probability to the story, they shewed, at a small distance, another grotto, twice as large as any of its fellows, and uncovered at the top, which had three niches or praying places hewn in its south side. This they would have to be sultan Ibrahim's oratory: it being the manner of the Turks always to make such niches in their mosques, and other places of devotion, to denote the southern quarter of the world; for that way the mussulmans are obliged to set their faces when they pray, in reverence to the tomb of their prophet. These niches are always formed exactly resembling those usually made for statues, both in their size, fabric, and every circumstance. I have sometimes reflected, for what reason the Turks should appoint such marks to direct their faces toward in prayer. And if I may be allowed to conjecture, I believe they did it at first in testimony of their iconoclastic principle; and to express to them both the reality of the divine presence there, and at the same time also its invisibility. The relators of this story of sultan Ibrahim, were doubtless fully persuaded of the truth of it themselves. But we could not tell what conjectures to make of it, having never met with any account of such a sultan, but only from this rude tradition.

From these Mahometan sanctuaries, our guide pretended to carry us to a Christian church, about two furlongs out of town on the south side. When we came to it, we found it nothing but a small grotto in a rock by the sea shore, open on the side

towards the sea; and having a rude pile of stones erected in it for an altar. In our return from this poor chapel, we met with the person who was the curate of it. He told us, that himself and some few other Christians of the Greek communion, were wont to assemble in this humble cell for divine service, being not permitted to have any place of worship within the town.

Jebilee seems to have had anciently some convenience for shipping. There is still to be seen a ridge composed of huge square stones, running a little way into the sea; which appears to have been formerly continued farther on, and to have made a mole. Near this place we saw a great many pillars of granite, some by the water side, others tumbled into the water. There were others in a garden close by, together with capitals of white marble finely carved; which testify in some measure the ancient splendour of this city.

But the most considerable antiquity in Jebilee, and greatest monument of its former eminency, is the remains of a noble theatre just at the north gate of the city. It passes amongst the Turks for an old castle; which (according to the Asiatic way of enlarging) they report to have been of so prodigious a height, when in its perfect state, that a horseman might have rid, about sun-rising, a full hour in the shade of it.

As for what remains of this mighty Babel, it is no more than twenty foot high. The flat side of it has been blown up with gunpowder by the Turks; and from hence (as they related) was

taken a great quantity of marble, which we saw used in adorning their bagnio and mosque before mentioned. All of it that is now standing is the semi-circle. It extends from corner to corner just a hundred yards. In this semi-circular part, is a range of seventeen round windows just above the ground, and between the windows all round were raised, on high pedestals, large massy pillars, standing as buttresses against the wall, both for the strength and ornament of the fabric; but these supporters are at present most of them broken down.

Within is a very large arena, but the just measurement of it could not be taken, by reason of the houses with which the Turks have almost filled it up. On the west side, the seats of the spectators remain still entire, as do likewise the caves or vaults which run under the subsellia all round the theatre. The outward wall is three yards three quarters thick, and built of very large and firm stones; which great strength has preserved it thus long from the jaws of time, and from that general ruin, which the Turks bring with them into most places where they come.

Saturday, March 6.—Having done with Jebilee, we put forward again early the next morning, with a prospect of much better weather than we had been attended with in our former motions. Our road continued by the sea side, and in about two hours brought us to a fair deep river, called by the Turks, Naher-il-Melech, or the King's

River. Here we saw some heaps of ruins on both sides of the river, with several pillars of granite, and other footsteps of some considerable buildings. About half an hour farther we passed another river, called Jobar, shewing the remains of a stone bridge over it, once well built, but now broken down. On the other side of this river, in a large ploughed field, stood a great square tower; and round about, the rubbish of many other buildings. Likewise all along this day's journey, we observed many ruins of castles and houses, which testify that this country, however it be neglected at present, was once in the hands of a people that knew how to value it, and thought it worth the defending. Strabo calls this whole region, from Jebilee as far as Aradus, the country of the Aradii (of whom in due place), and gives us the names of several places situate anciently all along this coast; as Paltus, Balanea, Caranus, Enydra, Marathus Ximyra. But whether the ruins which we saw this day, may be the remains of any of those cities, cannot well be determined at this distance of time; seeing all we have of those places is only their names, without any sufficient distinctions by which to discover their situation. The Balanea of Strabo is indeed said to be still extant, being supposed to be the same place that the Turks (little changing its name) call at this day, Baneas. This place is four hours good beyond Jebilee. It stands upon a small declivity about a furlong distance from the sea, and has a fine clear stream running swiftly by it on the south side. It is at

present uninhabited; but its situation proves it to have been anciently a pleasant, its ruins a well-built, and its bays before it, an advantageous habitation. At this place was required another caphar.

Leaving Baneas, we went on by the sea side, and in about a quarter of an hour, passed by an old castle, on the top of a very high mountain. It is built in the figure of an equilateral triangle, having one of its angles pointing towards the sea. The Turks call it Merchab; and enlarge much upon the sieges it has sustained in former times: but whatever force it may have had anciently, it is at present only a residence for poor country people. This is probably the same castle mentioned by Adrichomius, and others, under the name of Margath; to which the bishops of Balanea were forced to translate their see, by reason of the insults of the Saracens.

At about one hour and a half distance from Baneas, we came to a small clear stream, which induced us to take up our lodging near it. We pitched in the campagnia, about two or three furlongs up from the sea; having in sight, on the mountains above us, a village called Sophia, inhabited solely by Maronites; and a little farther, Besack, another village, possessed by Turks only; and a little farther, Merakiah, whose inhabitants are a miscellany of Christians and Turks together. Our whole stage this day was about six hours.

Sunday, March 7.—From this quarter we re-

moved early the next morning, and in three hours came to a fair deep river, called Nahor Hussine; having an old bridge turned over it, consisting of only one arch, but that very large and exceeding well wrought. In one hour and a half more, travelling still by the sea side, we reached Tortosa.

The ancient name of this place was Orthosia. It was a bishop's see in the province of Tyre. The writers of the holy wars make frequent mention of it, as a place of great strength; and one may venture to believe them, from what appears of it at this day.

Its situation is on the sea-shore; having a spacious plain extending round about it on its other sides. What remains of it is the castle, which is very large, and still inhabited. On one side, it is washed by the sea; on the others, it is fortified by a double wall of coarse marble, built after the rustic manner. Between the two walls is a ditch; as likewise is another encompassing the outermost wall. You enter this fortress on the north side, over an old draw-bridge, which lands you in a spacious room, now for the most part uncovered, but anciently well arched over, being the church belonging to the castle. On one side it resembles a church; and in witness of its being such, shews at this day several holy emblems carved upon its walls, as that of a dove descending, over the place where stood the altar; and in another place, that of the holy Lamb. But on the side which fronts outward, it has the face of a castle, being built with port-holes for artillery,

instead of windows. Round the castle, on the south and east sides, stood anciently the city. It had a good wall and ditch encompassing it, of which there are still to be seen considerable remains. But for other buildings, there is nothing now left in it, except a church, which stands about a furlong eastward from the castle. It is one hundred and thirty foot in length, in breadth ninety-three, and in height sixty-one. Its walls, arches, and pillars, are of a bastard marble, and all still so entire, that a small expence would suffice to recover it into the state of a beautiful church again. But, to the grief of any Christian beholder, it is now made a stall for cattle; and we were, when we went to see it, almost up to our knees in dirt and mire.

From Tortosa we sent our baggage before us, with orders to advance a few miles farther toward Tripoli, to the intent that we might shorten our stage to that place the next day. We followed not long after, and in about a quarter of an hour came to a river, or rather a channel of a river, for it was now almost dry: though questionless here must have been anciently no inconsiderable stream; as we might infer, both from the largeness of the channel, and the fragments of a stone-bridge formerly laid over it.

In about half an hour more, we came a-breast with a small island, about a league distant from the shore, called by the Turks Ru-ad. This is supposed to be the ancient Arvad, Arphad, or

Arpad (under which several names it occurs, 2 Kin. xix. 13: Gen. x. 18; Ezek. xxvii. 11, &c.), and the Aradus of the Greeks and Romans. It seemed to the eye to be not above two or three furlongs long; and was wholly filled up with tall buildings like castles. The ancient inhabitants of this island were famous for navigation, and had a command upon the continent as far as Gabala.

About a quarter of an hour farther we came up with our muliteers; they having pitched our tents, before they had gone so far as we intended. But this miscarriage they well recompensed, by the condition of the place where they stopped; it affording us the entertainment of several notable antiquities, which we might otherwise perhaps have passed by unobserved. It was at a green plat lying within one hour of Tortosa, a little southward of Aradus, and about a quarter of a mile from the sea; having in it a good fountain (though of a bad name), called the Serpent Fountain.

The first antiquity that we here observed was a large dike, thirty yards over at top, cut into the firm rock. Its sides went sloping down, with stairs formed out of the natural rock, descending gradually from the top to the bottom. This dike stretched in a direct line, east and west, more than a furlong; bearing still the same figure of stairs, running in right lines all along its sides. It broke off at last at a flat marshy ground, extending about two furlongs betwixt it and the sea. It is hard to imagine that the water ever flowed up thus

high; and harder (without supposing that) to resolve, for what reason all this pains of cutting the rock in such a fashion was taken.

This dike was on the north side of the Serpent Fountain; and just on the other side of it, we espied another antiquity, which took up our next observation. There was a court of fifty-five yards square, cut in the natural rock: the sides of the rock standing round it, above three yards high, supplied the place of walls. On three sides it was thus encompassed; but to the northward, it lay open. In the centre of this area was a square part of the rock left standing; being three yards high, and five yards and a half square. This served for a pedestal to a throne erected upon it. The throne was composed of four large stones: two at the sides, one at the back, another hanging over all at top, in the manner of a canopy. The whole structure was about twenty foot high, fronting toward that side where the court was open. The stone that made the canopy was five yards and three quarters square, and carved round with a handsome cornice. What all this might be designed for, we could not imagine; unless perhaps the court may pass for an idol-temple, and the pile in the middle for the throne of the idol: which seems the more probable, in regard that Herculus, *i. e.* the sun, the great abomination of the Phenicians, was wont to be adored in an open temple. At the two innermost angles of the court, and likewise on the open side, were left pillars of the

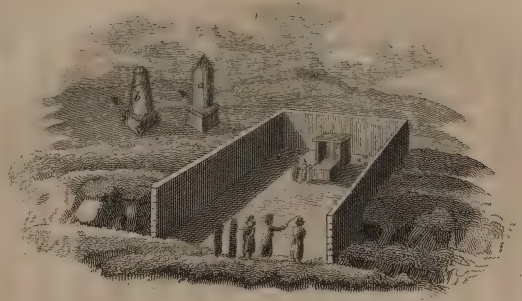
natural rock; three at each of the former, and two at the latter.

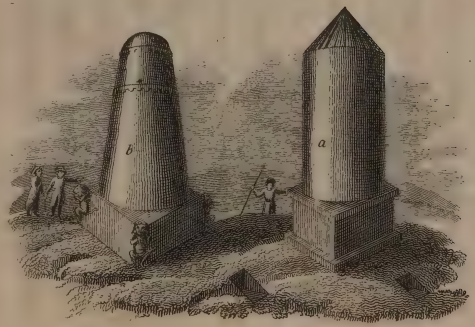
About half a mile to the southward of the foresaid antiquities, there stood in view two towers; but it growing dark, we were forced to defer our examination of them till the next morning. Our whole stage this day exceeded not six hours.

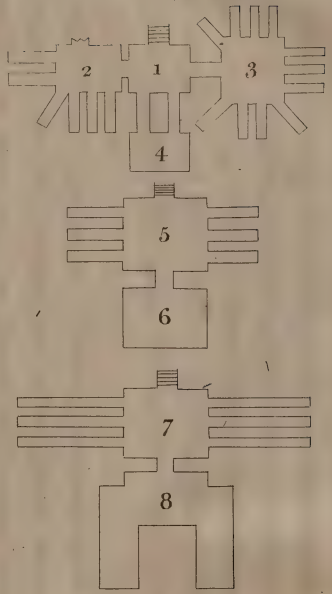
Monday, March 8.—Having passed over a restless night, in a marshy and unwholesome ground, we got up very early, in order to take a nearer view of the two towers last mentioned. We found them to be sepulchral monuments, erected over two ancient burying-places. They stood at about ten yards distance from each other, and their shape and fabric is represented in the figures (*a*) and (*b*).

The tower (*a*) was thirty-three foot high. Its longest stone or pedestal was ten foot high, and fifteen square: the superstructure upon which was, first a tall stone in form of a cylinder, and then another stone cut in shape of a pyramid.

The other tower (*b*) was thirty foot and two inches high. Its pedestal was in height six foot, and sixteen foot six inches square. It was supported by four lions, carved one at each corner of the pedestal. The carving had been very rude at best; but was now rendered by time much worse. The upper part reared upon the pedestal was all one single stone, in fashion as is represented in the figure (*b*).







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Each of these barbarous monuments had under it several sepulchres, the entrances into which were on the south side. It cost us some time and pains to get into them; the avenues being obstructed, first with briars and weeds, and then with dirt. But, however, we removed both these obstacles; encouraging ourselves with the hopes, or rather making ourselves merry with the fancy, of hidden treasure. But as soon as we were entered into the vaults, we found that our golden imaginations ended (as all worldly hopes and projects do at last) in dust and putrefaction. But, however, that we might not go away without some reward for our pains, we took as exact a survey as we could of these chambers of darkness; which were disposed in such manner as is expressed in the following figures.

The chambers under the tower (*a*) lay as is represented in the first figure. Going down seven or eight steps, you come to the mouth of the sepulchre; where, crawling in, you arrive in the chamber (1), which is nine foot two inches broad, and eleven foot long. Turning to the right hand, and going through a narrow passage, you come to the room (2), which is eight foot broad, and ten long. In this chamber are seven cells for corpses, viz. two over against the entrance, four on the left hand, and one unfinished on the right. These cells were hewn directly into the firm rock. We measured several of them, and found them eight foot and a half in length, and three foot three inches square. I would not infer from hence,

that the corpses deposited here were of such a gigantic size, as to fill up such large coffins: though at the same time, why should any men be so prodigal of their labour, as to cut these caverns into so hard a rock as this was, much farther than necessity required?

On the other side of the chamber (1) was a narrow passage, seven foot long, leading into the room (3), whose dimensions were nine foot in breadth, and twelve in length. It had eleven cells, of somewhat a less size than the former, lying at equal distances all round about it.

Passing out of the room (1) foreright, you have two narrow entrances, each seven foot long, into the room (4). This apartment was nine foot square: it had no cells in it like the others, nor any thing else remarkable; but only a bench, cut all along its side on the left hand. From the description of this sepulchre, it is easy to conceive the disposition of the other, which is represented in the figure (5, 6). The height of the rooms in both was about six foot; and the towers were built each over the innermost room of the sepulchres to which it belonged.

At about the distance of a furlong from this place we discerned another tower, resembling this last described: it was erected likewise over a sepulchre, of which you have the delineation in the figure (7) and (8). There was this singularity observable in this last sepulchre; that its cells were cut into the rock eighteen foot in length; possibly to the intent, that two or three corpses

might be deposited in each of them at the feet of one another. But having a long stage this day to Tripoli, we thought it not seasonable to spend any more time in this place; which might perhaps have afforded us several other antiquities.

And yet for all our haste, we had not gone a mile, before our curiosity was again arrested by the observation of another tower, which appeared in a thicket not far from the way side. It was thirty-three foot and a half high, and thirty-one foot square; composed of huge square stones, and adorned with a handsome cornice all round at top. It contained only two rooms, one above the other; into both which there were entrances on the north-side, through two square holes in the wall. The separation between both rooms, as also the covering at the top, was made, not of arched work, but of vast flat stones; in thickness four foot, and so great an extent, that two of them in each place sufficed to spread over the whole fabric. This was a very ancient structure, and probably a place of sepulture.

I must not forget, that round about the Serpent Fountain, and also as far as this last tower, we saw many sepulchres, old foundations, and other remains of antiquity; from all which it may be assuredly concluded, that here must needs have been some famous habitation in ancient times: but whether this might be the Ximyra, laid down by Strabo hereabouts (or, as Pliny calls it, lib. 5, Nat. Hist. cap. 20, Simyra), the same possibly with the country of the Zemarites, mentioned in

conjunction with the Arvadites, Gen. x. 18, I leave to others to discuss.

Having quitted ourselves of these antiquities, we entered into a spacious plain, extending to a vast breadth between the sea and the mountains, and in length reaching almost as far as Tripoli. The people of the country call it Junia, that is, the Plain; which name they gave it by way of eminency, upon account of its vast extent. We were full seven hours in passing it; and found it all along exceeding fruitful, by reason of the many rivers, and the great plenty of water which it enjoys. Of these rivers, the first is about six hours before you come to Tripoli. It has a stone bridge over it of three large arches, and is the biggest stream in the whole plain; for which reason it goes by the name of Nahor il Kibber, or the Great River. About half an hour farther you come to another river, called Nahor Abrosh, or the Leper's River. In three quarters of an hour more you pass a third river, called Nahor Acchar; having a handsome stone bridge, of one very large arch, laid over it. Two good hours more brings you to a fourth river, called ———, or the Cold Waters, with a bridge of three arches over it. From hence you have two good hours more to Tripoli. I took the more exact account of all these streams, to the intent that I might give some light, for the better deciding that difference which is found in geographers, about the place of the river Eleutherus. The moderns, all with one consent, give that name to a river between

Tyre and Sidon, called by the Turks, Casimeer. But this contradicts the universal testimony of the ancients, who place Eleutherus more northward. Strabo will have it somewhere between Orthosia and Tripoli, as a boundary dividing Syria from Phœnicia (p. 518). Pliny places it near Orthosia, emptying itself into the sea over against Aradus (Nat. Hist. lib. 5, c. 20.) The writer of the Maccabees (1 Macc. xii. 25, 30) lays it in the land of Hamath; which country, whatever it were, was certainly without the borders of Israel, as appears from the same author. To this Josephus agrees, placing Eleutherus to the north of Sidon, as may be collected from him, lib. 14, Antiq. Jud. cap. 7, 8, where, speaking of Mark Anthony's donation to Cleopatra, he reports, how that extravagant gallant gave her all the cities between Eleutherus and Egypt, except Tyre and Sidon. Ptolemy, as cited by Terranius, places it yet more northerly, between Orthosia and Balanea. From all which it is evident, that this cannot be the true ancient Eleutherus which the moderns assign for it: but that name is rather to be ascribed to one of these rivers, crossing the plain of Junia: or else (if Pliny's authority may be relied upon) to that river (now dry) which I mentioned a little on this side of Tortosa, and which has its mouth almost opposite to Aradus. But I will not determine any thing in this point, contenting myself to have given an account of the several rivers as we passed them.

Tuesday, March 9.—Drawing towards Tripoli, our muleteers were afraid to advance, lest their beasts might be pressed for public service; as they were afterwards, in spite of all their caution, to our great vexation. So we left them in the plain of Junia, and proceeded ourselves for Tripoli; where we arrived about sun-set. Our whole stage this day was ten hours.

At Tripoli we reposed a full week, being very generously entertained by Mr. Francis Hastings, the consul, and Mr. John Fisher, merchant; theirs being the only English house in Tripoli.

Tripoli is seated about half an hour from the sea. The major part of the city lies between two hills; one on the east, on which is a castle commanding the place; another on the west, between the city and the sea. This latter is said to have been at first raised, and to be still increased, by the daily accession of sand, blown to it from the shore; upon which occasion there goes a prophecy, that the whole city shall in time be buried with this sandy hill. But the Turks seem not very apprehensive of this prediction; for instead of preventing the growth of the hill, they suffer it to take its course, and make it a place of pleasure, which they would have little inclination to do, did they apprehend it were sometime to be their grave.

Wednesday, March 10.—This day we were all treated by Mr. Fisher in the campagnia. The place where we dined was a narrow pleasant val-

ley by a river's side, distant from the city about a mile eastward. Across the valley there runs from hill to hill a handsome lofty aqueduct, carrying upon it so large a body of water, as suffices the whole city. It was called the Prince's-bridge, supposed to have been built by Godfrey of Bulloign.

Thursday, March 11.—This day we all dined at consul Hastings's house, and after dinner went to wait upon Ostan, the bassa Tripoli; having first sent our present, as the manner is amongst the Turks, to procure a propitious reception.

It is counted uncivil to visit in this country without an offering in hand. All great men expect it, as a kind of tribute due to their character and authority; and look upon themselves as affronted, and indeed defrauded, when this compliment is omitted. Even in familiar visits amongst inferior people, you shall seldom have them come without bringing a flower, or an orange, or some other such token of their respect to the person visited: the Turks in this point keeping up the ancient oriental custom hinted, 1 Sam. ix. 7: *If we go* (says Saul), *what shall we bring the man of God? There is not a present*, &c. which words are questionless to be understood in conformity to this Eastern custom, as relating to a token of respect, and not to a price of divination.

Friday, March 12.—In the afternoon we went to visit Bell-mount, a convent of Greeks, about

two hours to the southward of Tripoli. It was founded by one of the earls of Tripoli, and stands upon a very high rocky mountain, looking over the sea: a place of very difficult ascent, though made as accessible as it was capable by the labour of the poor monks. It was our fortune to arrive there just as they were going to their evening service. Their chapel is large, but obscure; and their altar is inclosed with cancelli, so as not to be approached by any one but the priest, according to the fashion of the Greek churches. They call their congregation together, by beating a kind of a tune with two mallets, on a long pendulous piece of plank at the church door; bells being an abomination to the Turks.

Their service consisted in precipitate, and very irreverent chattering of certain prayers and hymns to our blessed Saviour, and to the blessed Virgin, and in some dark ceremonies. The priest that officiated, spent at least one third part of his time in compassing the altar, and perfuming it with a pot of incense; and then going all round the congregation, flinging his incense-pot backward and forward, and tendering its smoke, with three repeated vibrations, to every person present. Towards the end of the service, there was brought into the body of the church a small table, covered with a fair linen cloth, on which were placed five small cakes of bread cross way, in this form, ⁂ and in the centre of each cake was fixed a small lighted wax taper, a hole in the cake serving for a socket.

At this ceremony, the priest read the gospel concerning our Lord's feeding the multitude with five loaves: after which, the bread was carried into the cancelli, and being there suddenly broke to bits, was again brought out in a basket, and presented to every one in the assembly, that he might take a little. After this collation, the priest pronounced the blessing, and so the service ended. On both sides of the body of the church, were seats for the monks, in the nature of the stalls for the fellows of colleges in Oxford; and on each hand of every seat were placed crutches. These you find in like manner in most churches of this country. Their use is for the priest to lean upon: the service being sometimes so long, that they cannot well stay it out without the assistance of such easements; for they are not permitted by their rubric to sit down. The younger monks, who perhaps may have no great occasion for these supporters, do yet delight to use them (as the Spaniards do spectacles), not for any necessity, but in affectation of gravity.

The monks of this convent were, as I remember, forty in all. We found them seemingly a very good natured and industrious, but certainly a very ignorant people: for I found upon inquiry, they could not give any manner of rationale of their own divine service. And to shew their extreme simplicity, I cannot omit a compliment made to the consul by the chief of them, viz. that he was as glad to see him, as if he had beheld

the Messiah himself coming in person to make a visit to him.

Nor is this ignorance to be much wondered at; for what intervals of time they have between their hours of devotion, they are forced to spend, not in study, but in managing of their flocks, cultivating their land, pruning their vineyards, and other labours of husbandry, which they accomplish with their own hands. This toil they are obliged to undergo, not only to provide for their own sustenance, but also that they may be able to satisfy the unreasonable exactions which the greedy Turks, upon every pretence they can invent, are ready to impose upon them. But that it may be the better guessed what sort of men these Greek monks are, I will add this farther indication, viz. that the same person whom we saw officiating at the altar in his embroidered sacerdotal robe, brought us the next day, on his own back, a kid, and a goat's skin of wine, as a present from the convent.

Saturday, March 13.—This morning we went again to wait upon Ostan Bassa, by his own appointment; and were entertained, as before, with great courtesy: for you must know, that the Turks are not so ignorant of civility and the arts of endearment, but that they can practise them with as much exactness as any other nation, whenever they have a mind to shew themselves obliging. For the better apprehending of which, it may not

be improper nor unpleasant here to describe the ceremonies of a Turkish visit, as far as they have ever fallen under my observation, either upon this or any other occasions.

When you would make a visit to a person of quality here, you must send one before with a present, to bespeak your admission, and to know at what hour your coming may be most seasonable. Being come to the house, the servants receive you at the outermost gate, and conduct you toward their lord or master's apartment; other servants (I suppose of better rank) meeting you in the way, at their several stations, as you draw nearer to the person you visit. Coming into his room, you find him prepared to receive you, either standing at the edge of the duan, or else lying down at one corner of it, according as he thinks it proper to maintain a greater or less distinction. These duans are a sort of low stages, seated in the pleasantest part of the room, elevated about sixteen or eighteen inches, or more, above the floor. They are spread with carpets, and furnished all round with bolsters for leaning upon. Upon these the Turks eat, sleep, smoke, receive visits, say their prayers, &c. their whole delight is in lolling upon them, and in furnishing them richly out is their greatest luxury.

Being come to the side of the duan, you slip off your shoes, and stepping up, take your place; which you must do first at some distance, and upon your knees, laying your hands very formally before you. Thus you must remain, till the man

of quality invites you to draw nearer, and to put yourself in an easier posture, leaning upon the bolster. Being thus fixed, he discourses with you as the occasion offers; the servants standing round all the while in a great number, and with the profoundest respect, silence, and order imaginable. When you have talked over your business, or the compliments, or whatever other concern brought you thither, he makes a sign to have things served in for the entertainment; which is generally a little sweetmeat, a dish of sherbet, and another of coffee: all which are immediately brought in by the servants, and tendered to all the guests in order, with the greatest care and awfulness imaginable. And they have reason to look well to it; for should any servant make the least slip or mistake, either in delivering or receiving his dish, it might cost him fifty, perhaps one hundred drubs on his bare feet to atone for his crime. At last comes the finishing part of your entertainment, which is perfuming the beards of the company; a ceremony which is performed in this manner. They have for this purpose a small silver chaffing-dish, covered with a lid full of holes, and fixed upon a handsome plate: in this they put some fresh coals and upon them a piece of lignum aloes; and then shutting it up, the smoke immediately ascends with a grateful odour through the holes of the cover. This smoke is held under every one's chin, and offered, as it were, a sacrifice to his beard. The bristly idol soon perceives the reverence done to it, and so greedily takes in and incorporates the

gummy steam, that it retains the savour of it, and may serve for a nosegay a good while after.

This ceremony may, perhaps, seem ridiculous at first hearing; but it passes among the Turks for a high gratification. And I will say this in its vindication, that its design is very wise and useful: for it is understood to give a civil dismission to the visitants; intimating to them, that the master of the house has business to do, or some other avocation, that permits them to go away as soon as they please, and the sooner after this ceremony, the better. By this means you may at any time, without offence, deliver yourself from being detained from your affairs by tedious and unseasonable visits; and from being constrained to use that piece of hypocrisy, so common in the world, of pressing those to stay longer with you, whom perhaps in your heart you wish a great way off, for having troubled you so long already. But of this enough.

Having discharged our visit to Ostan Bassa, we rid out after dinner to view the marine. It is about half an hour distant from the city. The port is an open sea, rather than an enclosed harbour: however, it is in part defended from the force of the waves by two small islands, about two leagues out from the shore; one of which is called the Bird, the other the Coney Island, being so named from the creatures which they severally produce. For its security from pirates, it has several castles, or rather square towers, built all along upon the shore at convenient distances. They

are (I think) six in number; but at present void of all manner of force, both of men and ammunition.

In the fields near the shore appeared many heaps of ruins, and pillars of granite, and several other indications that here must have been anciently some considerable buildings this way: which agrees very well with what Casaubon, in his notes upon Strabo (p. 213), quotes out of Diodorus, viz. that the place called Tripoli was anciently a cluster of three cities, standing at a furlong's distance from each other; of which the first was a seat of the Aradii, the second of the Sidonians, the third of the Tyrians. And from hence it is probable, that Tripoli was a name given at first to three distinct, but adjacent places, and not to one city; built (as is usually said) by the mingled interest of Tyre, Sidon, and Aradus: it being hard to conceive, how three such independent commonwealths should thus concur in the founding of one city between them; and harder, how they should agree in governing it afterward.

Sunday, March 14.—We continued still in Tripoli.

Monday, March 15.—Resolving to prosecute our journey this day, we had given orders to our muleteers some time before, to be ready to attend us. But they had been so frighted by the bassa of Sidon's servants, who were abroad in quest of mules for the service of their master, that they

were run away, and could not be heard of. A disappointment which gave us much vexation, and left us no other remedy, but only to supply ourselves with fresh beasts where we could find them.

Having, after much trouble, put ourselves in a new posture of travelling, we parted from Tripoli at three of the clock in the afternoon. Proceeding close by the sea, we came in one hour and a half to Callemone, a small village, just under Bell-mount. From hence putting forward till near eight of the clock, we came to an high promontory, which lay directly cross our way, and broke off abruptly at the sea-side, with a cape very high, and almost perpendicular. In order to pass this barrier, we turned up on the left hand, into a narrow valley, through which our road lay; and it being now late, we took up our quarters there under some olive-trees, having come in all about five hours.

The promontory which terminated our journey, seems to be that called by Strabo,* τὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ πρόσωπον, or the Face of God, assigned by that author for the end of mount Libanus. Between this place and Tripoli, he mentions likewise a city, called Trieris: but of this we saw no footsteps; unless you will allow for such, some sepulchres which we saw cut in the rocks, about one hour and a half before we arrived at the promontory.

Tuesday, March 16.—We were no sooner in

* Strab. lib. 16. Pomp. Mela, lib. 1. cap. 12.

motion this morning, but we were engaged in the difficult work of crossing over the forementioned cape. The pass over it lies about a mile up from the sea. We found it very steep and rugged; but in an hour, or thereabout, mastered it, and arrived in a narrow valley on the other side, which brought the sea open to us again. Near the entrance of this valley stands a small fort, erected upon a rock perpendicular on all sides, the walls of the buildings being just adequate to the sides of the rock, and seeming almost of one continued piece with them. This castle is called Temseida, and commands the passage into the valley.

In about half an hour from this place, we came even with Patrone; a place esteemed to be the ancient Botrus. It is situate close by the sea; and our road lying somewhat higher up in the land, we diverted a little out of the way to see it. We found in it some remains of an old church, and a monastery; but these are now perfectly ruined and desolate, as is likewise the whole city. Nor is there any thing left in it, to testify it has been a place of any great consideration.

In three hours more we came to Gibyle, called by the Greeks, Byblus; a place once famous for the birth and temple of Adonis. It is pleasantly situated by the sea-side. At present it contains but a little extent of ground, but yet more than enough for the small number of its inhabitants. It is compassed with a dry ditch, and a wall with square towers in it at about every forty yards distance. On its south side, it has an old castle: within

it is a church, exactly of the same figure with that at Tortosa, only not so entire as that. Besides this it has nothing remarkable, though anciently it was a place of no mean extent, as well as beauty; as may appear from the many heaps of ruins, and the fine pillars, that are scattered up and down in the gardens near the town.

Gibyle is, probably, the country of the Giblites, mentioned, Josh. xiii. 5. King Hiram made use of the people of this place in preparing materials for Solomon's Temple; as may be collected from the first of Kings, v. 18. where the word which our translator hath rendered *stone-squarers*, in the Hebrew is גבלים, *Giblim*, or Giblites; and in the LXXII Interpreters, Βύβλιοι, that is, the men of Biblus: the former using the Hebrew, the latter the Greek name of this place. The same difference may be observed likewise, Ezek. xxvii. 9. where this place is again mentioned. The *ancients of Gebal*, says our translation, following the Hebrew; instead of which, you read in the LXXII again, οἱ πρεσβύτεροι Βυβλίων, the elders of Bybli, or Byblus.

Leaving Gibyle, we came in one hour to a fair large river, with a stone bridge over it of only one arch, but that exceeding wide and lofty. To this river the Turks give the name of Ibrahim Bassa; but it is doubtless the ancient river Adonis, so famous for the idolatrous rites performed here in lamentation of Adonis. Upon the bank of this stream we took up our quarters for the following night, having come this day about six

hours. We had a very tempestuous night both of wind and rain, almost without cessation, and with so great violence, that our servants were hardly able to keep up our tents over us. But, however, this accident which gave us so much trouble in the night, made us amends with a curiosity, which it yielded us an opportunity of beholding the next morning.

Wednesday, March 17.—For by this means we had the fortune to see what may be supposed to be the occasion of that opinion which Lucian relates, concerning this river, viz. that this stream, at certain seasons of the year, especially about the feast of Adonis, is of a bloody colour; which the heathens looked upon as proceeding from a kind of sympathy in the river for the death of Adonis, who was killed by a wild boar in the mountains, out of which this stream rises. Something like this we saw actually come to pass; for the water was stained to a surprising redness, and, as we observed in travelling, had discoloured the sea a great way into a reddish hue; occasioned doubtless by a sort of minium, or red earth, washed into the river by the violence of the rain, and not by any stain from Adonis's blood.

In an hour and a quarter from this river, we passed over the foot of the mountain Climax; where, having gone through a very rugged and uneven pass, we came into a large bay, called Junia. At the first entrance into the bay, is an old stone-bridge, which appoints the limits between

the two bassalics of Tripoli and Sidon. At the bottom of the bay are exceeding high and steep mountains, between which and the sea the road lies. These are the mountains of Castravan, chiefly inhabited by Maronites, famous for a growth of excellent wine. The Maronite bishop of Aleppo has here his residence in a convent, of which he is the guardian. We saw many other small convents on the top of these mountains; one of which, called Oozier, was, as we were here told, in the hands of ten or twelve Latin friars. Towards the further side of the bay, we came to a square tower or castle, of which kind there are many all along upon the coast, for several days' journey from this place: they are said to have been built by the empress Helena, for the protection of the country from pirates. At this tower is to be paid a fourth caphar.* It is received by Maronites, a pack of rogues, more exacting and insolent in their office than the very Turks themselves. A little beyond this place, we came to a road cut through the rocks, which brought us out of the bay, having been one hour and a quarter in compassing it. In an hour more, spent upon a very rugged way close by the sea, we came to the river Lycus, called also sometime Canis, and by the Turks at this day, Nahor Kelp. It derives its name from an idol in the form of a dog, or wolf, which was worshipped, and is said to have pronounced oracles, at this place. The image is

* Half per Franck, quarter per servant.

pretended to be shewn to strangers at this day, lying in the sea, with its heels upward: I mean the body of it; for its oracular head is reported to have been broken off, and carried to Venice, where (if fame be true) it may be seen at this day.

I know not by what mistake several modern geographers confound this river with Adonis, making them to be one and the same; whereas the contrary is apparent, both from experimental observation, and from the authority of ancient geographers.

This river issues into the sea from between two mountains, excessive steep and high; and so rocky, that they seem to consist each of one entire stone. For crossing the river, you go up between these mountains about a bow-shot from the sea, where you have a good bridge of four arches; near the foot of which is a piece of white marble, inlaid in the side of a rock, with an Arab inscription on it, intimating its founder to have been the emir Faccardine (of whom I shall have occasion to speak more when I come to Beroot) Being passed the river, you immediately begin to ascend the mountain (or rather great rock), hanging over it on that side. To accommodate the passage, you have a path of above two yards breadth cut along its side, at a great height above the water; being the work of the emperor Antoninus. For the promontory allowing no passage between it and the sea at bottom, that emperor undertook, with incredible labour, to open this way above; the memory of which good work

is perpetuated by an inscription, engraven on a table plained in the side of the natural rock, not far from the entrance into the way, as follows:

IMP: CAES: M: AURELIUS
ANTONINUS, PIUS, FELIX, AUGUSTUS
PARTH: MAX: BRIT: GERM: MAXIMUS
PONTIFEX MAXIMUS
MONTIBUS IMMINENTIBUS
LYCO FLUMINI CAESIS VIAM DILATAVIT
PER—*(purposely erased)*—
ANTONINIANAM SUAM

A little higher up in the way, are inscribed these words:

INVICTE IMP: ANTONINE P: FELIX AUG:
MULTIS ANNIS IMPERA!

In passing this way, we observed in the sides of the rock above us, several tables of figures carved; which seemed to promise something of antiquity: to be satisfied of which, some of us clambered up to the place, and found there some signs as if the old way had gone in that region, before Antoninus cut the other more convenient passage a little lower. In several places hereabouts, we saw strange antique figures of men, carved in the natural rock, in mezzo relievo, and in bigness equal to the life. Close by each figure was a large table, plained in the side of the rock, and bordered round with mouldings. Both the effigies and the tables appeared to have been anciently inscribed all over: but the characters are now so de-

faced, that nothing but the footsteps of them were visible; only there was one of the figures that had both its lineaments and its inscriptions entire.

It was our unhappiness to have at this place a very violent storm of thunder and rain, which made our company too much in haste to make any long stay here; by which misfortune I was prevented, to my great regret, from copying the inscription, and making such an exact scrutiny into this antiquity as it seemed very well to deserve. I hope some curious traveller or other will have better success in passing this way hereafter. The figures seemed to resemble mummies, and were perhaps the representation of some persons buried hereabout; whose sepulchres might probably also be discovered by the diligent observer.

The Antonine way extends about a quarter of an hour's travel. It is at present so broken and uneven, that to repair it would require no less labour, than that wherewith it was at first made. After this pass, you come upon a smooth sandy shore, which brings you, in about one hour and a half, to the river Beroot (for I could learn no other name it had). It is a large river, and has over it a stone bridge of six arches. On its other side is a plain field near the sea, which is said to be the stage on which St. George duelled and killed the dragon. In memory of this achievement, there is a small chapel built upon the place, dedicated at first to that Christian hero; but now perverted to a mosque. From hence, in an hour, we arrived at Beroot, very wet by rea-

son of the long and severe rain. However we found here the shelter of a good kane by the sea side, and there we took up our quarters. Our whole stage this day was about six hours and a half.

Thursday, March 18.—The day following we spent at Beroot; being credibly informed that the river Damer, which lay in our next stage, was so swoln by the late rains that it would be impassable. This place was called anciently Berytus; from which the idol Baal Berith is supposed to have had its name. And afterwards being greatly esteemed by Augustus, had many privileges conferred upon it: and together with them a new name, viz. Julia Felix. But at present, it retains nothing of its ancient felicity, except the situation; and in that particular it is indeed very happy. It is seated on the sea-side, in a soil fertile and delightful, raised only so high above the salt water, as to be secure from its overflowings, and all other noxious and unwholesome effects of that element. It has the benefit of good fresh springs flowing down to it from the adjacent hills, and dispensed all over the city, in convenient, and not unhandsome fountains. But besides these advantages of its situation, it has at present nothing else to boast of.

The emir Faccardine had his chief residence in this place. He was in the reign of sultan Morat, the fourth emir, or prince of the Druses; a people supposed tohave descended from some dispersed

remainders of those Christian armies, that engaged in the crusades, for the recovery of the Holy-Land: who afterwards being totally routed, and despairing of a return to their native country again, betook themselves to the mountains hereabout; in which their descendants have continued ever since. Faccardine being (as I said) prince of these people, was not contented to be penned up in the mountains; but by his power and artifice, enlarged his dominions down into the plain all along the sea coast as far as from this place to Acra. At last the grand seignior, grown jealous of such a growing power, drove the wild beasts back again to the mountains, from whence he had broke loose; and there his posterity retain their principality to this day.

We went to view the palace of this prince, which stands on the north east part of the city. At the entrance of it is a marble fountain, of greater beauty than is usually seen in Turkey. The palace within consists of several courts, all now run much to ruin; or rather perhaps never finished. The stables, yards for horses, dens for lions, and other savage creatures, gardens, &c. are such as would not be unworthy of the quality of a prince in Christendom, were they wrought up to that perfection of which they are capable, and to which they seem to have been designed by their first contriver.

But the best sight that this palace affords, and the worthiest to be remembered, is the orange garden. It contains a large quadrangular plat

of ground, divided into sixteen lesser squares, four in a row, with walks between them. The walks are shaded with orange trees, of a large spreading size, and all of so fine a growth both for stem and head, that one cannot imagine any thing more perfect in this kind. They were, at the time when we were there, as it were, gilded with fruit, hanging thicker upon them than ever I saw apples in England. Every one of these sixteen lesser squares in the garden was bordered with stone; and in the stone-work were troughs very artificially contrived, for conveying the water all over the garden: there being little outlets cut at every tree, for the stream as it passed by, to flow out, and water it. Were this place under the cultivation of an English gardener, it is impossible any thing could be made more delightful. But these hesperides were put to no better use, when we saw them, than to serve as a fold for sheep and goats; insomuch, that in many places they were up to the knees in dirt: so little sense have the Turks of such refined delights as these; being a people generally of the grossest apprehension, and knowing few other pleasures, but such sensualities, as are equally common both to men and beasts. On the east side of this garden were two terrace walks rising one above the other, each of them having an ascent to it of twelve steps. They had both several fine spreading orange trees upon them, to make shades in proper places. And at the north end they led into booths, and summer-houses, and other apartments very delightful:

this place being designed by Faccardine for the chief seat of his pleasure.

It may perhaps be wondered, how this emir should be able to contrive any thing so elegant and regular as this garden; seeing the Turkish gardens are usually nothing else but a confused miscellany of trees, jumbled together without either knots, walks, arbours or any thing of art or design, so that they seem like thickets rather than gardens. But Faccardine had been in Italy, where he had seen things of another nature, and knew well how to copy them in his own country. For indeed it appears by these remains of him, that he must needs have been a man much above the ordinary level of a Turkish genius.

In another garden we saw several pedestals for statues; from whence it may be inferred, that this emir was no very zealous Mahometan. At one corner of the same garden stood a tower of about sixty feet high; designed to have been carried to a much greater elevation for a watch-tower, and for that end built with an extraordinary strength, its walls being twelve feet thick. From this tower we had a view of the whole city: amongst other prospects it yielded us the sight of a large Christian church, said to have been at first consecrated to St. John the Evangelist. But, it being now usurped by the Turks for their chief mosque, we could not be permitted to see it, otherwise than at this distance. Another church there is in the town, which seems to be ancient; but being a very

mean fabric is suffered to remain still in the hands of the Greeks. We found it adorned with abundance of old pictures; amongst the rest I saw one with this little inscription, Κέαρτος πρῶτος Αρχιεπίσκοπος Βηρέτε: and just by it was the figure of Nestorius, who commonly makes one amongst the saints painted in the Greek churches; though they do not now profess, nor, I believe, so much as know his heresy. But that which appeared most observable was a very odd figure of a saint, drawn at full length, with a large beard reaching down to his feet. The curate gave us to understand that this was St. Nicephorus; and perceiving that his beard was the chief object of our admiration, he gratified us with the following relation concerning him, viz. That he was a person of the most eminent virtues in his time. But his great misfortune was, that the endowments of his mind were not set off with the outward ornament of a beard. Upon occasion of which defect, he fell into a deep melancholy. The devil taking the advantage of this priest, promised to give him that boon which nature had denied, in case he would comply with his suggestions. The beardless saint, though he was very desirous of the reward proposed, yet he would not purchase it at that rate neither: but rejected the previous bribe with indignation, declaring resolutely, that he had rather for ever despair of his wish than obtain it upon such terms. And at the same time, taking in his hand the downy tuft upon his chin, to witness the stability of his resolution (for he had, it

seems, beard enough to swear by), behold! as a reward for his constancy, he found the hair immediately stretch, with the pluck that he gave it. Whereupon finding it in so good a humour, he followed the happy omen: and as young heirs that have been niggardly bred, generally turn prodigals when they come to their estates; so he never desisted from pulling his beard, till he had wiredrawn it down to his feet. But enough both of the beard and the story. At the east end of Beroot, are to be seen seven or eight beautiful pillars of granite, each —— foot long, and three in diameter. And over another gate, not far distant, we found in a piece of marble, this following inscription: Τῆς τȣ̃ προσίοντος ἀνδρὸς ἐννοίας αἰεὶ σαφὴς ἔλέγχȣ, ἡ πρόσοψις γείνεται δίδȣ προθυμῶς ὃ παρέχεις ἢ μὴ δίδȣ παρὰ γὰρ τὸ μειχρὸν γείνεται πλήρης χάρις. ΤΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΟΣΙΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΕΝΝΟΙΑΣ. Such as these were the capitals. It was probably at first an altar inscription, relating to the offertory in the holy communion: for its sense seems to look that way; and it is well known that the comers to the blessed sacrament, were called by the ancients, by the peculiar name of οἱ προσίοντες, as Valesius proves out of St. Chrysostom. Vales. Not. in Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. 7, cap. 9.

On the south side, the town wall is still entire, but built out of the ruins of the old city, as appears by pieces of pillars and marble, which help to build it. In one piece of marble table we saw these remaining letters of a Latin inscription:

— VG. ETIA —
— XI CUM —
— VS PHOEBUS —
All the rest being purposely erased.

A little without this wall, we saw many granite pillars and remnants of Mosaic floors; and in an heap of rubbish, several pieces of polished marble, fragments of statues, and other poor relics of this city's ancient magnificence. On the sea side is an old ruined castle, and some remains of a small mole.

Friday, March 19.—Leaving Beroot, we came in one third of an hour to a large plain extending from the sea to the mountains. At the beginning of the plain is a grove of pine trees of Faccardine's plantation. We guessed it to be more than half a mile cross; and so pleasant, and inviting was its shade, that it was not without some regret that we passed it by. Continuing in this plain, we saw at a distance, on our left hand, a small village called Suckfoat. It belongs to the Druses, who possess at this day a long tract of mountains, as far as from Castravan to Carmel. Their present prince is Achmet, grandson to Faccardine; an old man, and one who keeps up the custom of his ancestors, of turning day into night: an hereditary practice in his family, proceeding from a traditional persuasion amongst them, that princes can never sleep securely but by day, when men's actions and designs are best observed by their guards, and, if need be, most easily prevented; but that in the night it concerns them to be always

vigilant, lest the darkness, aided by their sleeping, should give traitors both an opportunity and encouragement to assault their persons, and by a dagger, or a pistol, to make them continue their sleep longer than they intended when they lay down.

Two hours from Faccardine's grove brought us to the fifth caphar, and another little hour to the river Damer, or Tamyras; the former being its modern, the latter its ancient name. It is a river apt to swell much upon sudden rains, in which case, precipitating itself from the mountains with great rapidity, it has been fatal to many a passenger; amongst the rest, one monsieur Spon, nephew to Dr. Spon, coming from Jerusalem, about four years ago, in company with some English gentlemen, was, in passing this stream, hurried down by it, and perished in the sea, which lies about a furlong lower than the passage.

We had the good fortune to find the river in a better temper; its waters being now assuaged since the late rains. However the country fellows were ready here, according to their trade, to have assisted us in our passing over. In order to which, they had very officiously stripped themselves naked against our coming: and to the end that they might oblige us to make use of their help, for which they will be well paid, they brought us to a place where the water was deepest, pretending there was no other passage besides that; which cheat we saw them actually impose upon some other travellers, who came not long after us.

But we had been advised of a place a little higher in the river, where the stream was broader and shallower, and there we easily passed without their assistance. Just by this place are the ruins of a stone-bridge; of which one might guess by the firmness of its remains, that it might have been still entire, had not these villains broke it down in order to their making their advantages of passengers; either conducting them over for good pay, or else, if they have opportunity, drowning them for their spoils.

On the other side of the river, the mountains approach closer to the sea, leaving only a narrow rocky way between. From Damer, in two hours we came to another river, of no inconsiderable figure, but not once mentioned by any geographer that I know of. It is within one hour of Sidon. Its channel is deep, contains a good stream, and has a large stone-bridge over it. Speaking of this river to the reverend father Stephano, Maronite patriarch at Canobine, he told me it was called Awle, and had its fountain near Berook, a village in Mount Libanus.

At this river we were met by several of the French merchants from Sidon; they having a factory there, the most considerable of all theirs in the Levant. Being arrived at Sidon, we pitched our tents by a cistern without the city; but were ourselves conducted by the French gentlemen to the place of their habitation, which is a large kane, close by the sea, where the consul and all the nation are quartered together. Before the

front of this kane is an old mole running into the sea with a right angle; it was of no great capacity at best, but now is rendered perfectly useless, having been purposely filled up with rubbish and earth, by Faccardine, to prevent the Turkish gallies from making their unwelcome visits to this place. The mole being thus destroyed, all ships that take in their burthen here, are forced to ride at anchor under the shelter of a small ridge of rocks, about a mile distant from the shore on the north side of the city. Sidon is stocked well enough with inhabitants, but is very much shrunk from its ancient extent, and more from its splendour; as appears from a great many beautiful pillars, that lie scattered up and down the gardens without the present walls. Whatever antiquities may at any time have been hereabout, they are now all perfectly obscured and buried by the Turkish buildings. Upon the south side of the city, on a hill, stands an old castle, said to have been the work of Lewis the Ninth of France, surnamed the Saint; and not far from the castle is an old unfinished palace of Faccardine's, serving however the bassa for his seraglio: neither of them worth mentioning, had the city afforded us any thing else more remarkable. Near about Sidon begin the precincts of the Holy Land, and of that part of it in particular which was allotted to Asher. The borders of which tribe extended from Carmel as far as great Zidon, as appears from Josh. xix. 26. 28. But the people upon the sea coasts were never actually mastered by the

Israelites; being left by the just judgment of God to be thorns in their sides, for a reason that may be seen, Jud. ii. 1, 2, 3, &c.

The person, who is the French consul at Sidon, has also the title of consul at Jerusalem; and is obliged by his master, the French king, to make a visit to the holy city every Easter, under pretence of preserving the sanctuary there from the violations, and the friars who have the custody of it, from the exactions of the Turks. But the friars think themselves much safer without this protection. We were desirous to join with monsieur l'Empereur, the present consul, in his this year's pilgrimage; and accordingly had sent him a letter from Aleppo on purpose to bespeak that favour; hoping by his protection to pass more securely from the abuses of the Arabs and Turks, who are no where so insolent, as in Palestine, and about Jerusalem. We had his promise to stay for us; but the remoras and disappointments we met with in the road, had put us so backward in our journey, that fearing to be too late at Jerusalem, he set out from Sidon the day before our arrival there: leaving us, however, some hopes, that if we made the best of our way, we might come up with him at Acra, where he promised to expect our coming to the utmost moment.

Saturday, March 20.—Being desirous, therefore, not to lose the convenience of his company, we set out early the next morning from Sidon; and travelling in a very fruitful plain, came in

half an hour to a place where we found a large pillar of granite, lying cross the high way, and sunk a good part under ground. Observing some letters upon it, we took the pains to dig away the earth, by which means we recovered this fragment of an inscription.

IMPERATORES,
CAESARES,
L SEPTIMUS SE-
VERUS, PIUS PER-
TINAX, AUG: ARA-
BICUS ADIABENICUS,
PARTHICUS, MAXI-
MUS, TRIBUNICIA
POTES: VI. IMP: XI. COS ▯
PRO ☙ COS ☙ P ☙ P
ET M ☙ AUREL: ANTONI-
NUS AUG: FILIUS ☙ EJUS
---------- ET ----- ARIA
-------- EN ---- OIUM ☙ RV
FVM ----------
------- IC PR: PRAET
----PROVINC ☙ SYRIAE
ET PHAE] NIC ☙ RENOVAVERUNT
☙ ▯ ☙

Some gentlemen of our nation, in their journey to Jerusalem, this last Easter, An. 1699, found another pillar, at about midway, between that we saw, and Sidon, of the same make and use; from which they took the foresaid inscription more perfectly. As far as *filius ejus* there is no variation, and after that it goes on thus.

VIAS ET MILLIARIA
FR---O VENIDIVM RV
FVM LEG AUGG
L---- PR PRAESIDEM
PROVINC SYRIAEPHOE
NIC RENOVAVERUNT
I

By which we may observe the exactness of the Romans in measuring out their roads, and marking down upon every pillar the number of miles, as I. II. III. &c.

A little beyond this pillar, we passed in sight of Ko-ri-e, a large village on the side of the mountains; and in two hours and a half more, came to Sarphan, supposed to be the ancient Serephath, or Sarepta, so famous for the residence and miracles of the prophet Elijah. The place shewn us for this city, consisted only of a few houses, on the tops of the mountains, within about half a mile of the sea. But it is more probable, the principal part of the city stood below, in the space between the hills and the sea; there being ruins still to be seen in that place of a considerable extent. From hence in three hours we arrived at Casimeer, a river large and deep, running down to the sea through a plain, in which it creeps along with various meanders and turnings. It had once a good stone-bridge laid over it, of four arches: but of that nothing remains at present, except the supporters; between which there are laid beams and boards to supply the room of the arches, and to make a passage over. But so careless and loose is the fabric, that it looks like a trap rather than

a bridge. We had one horse dropt through, notwithstanding our utmost care to prevent such misfortunes. But it was our good luck to recover him again safe ashore.

This river is assigned by our modern geographers for the old Eleutherus; but how erroneously, has been afore-mentioned. Strabo mentions a certain river falling into the sea near Tyre, on this side (πρός Τύρῳ Ποταμός ἐξίησι. p. 521), which can be no other than this; but he omits to acquaint us with its name. Within a bow shot of the river Casimeer is a kane of the same name, from which, keeping near the sea side, you arrive in an hour at Tyre.

This city, standing in the sea upon a peninsula promises at a distance something very magnificent, But when you come to it, you find no similitude of that glory, for which it was so renowned in ancient times, and which the prophet Ezekiel describes, chap. xxvi. 27, 28. On the north side it has an old Turkish ungarrisoned castle; besides which, you see nothing here, but a mere Babel of broken walls, pillars, vaults, &c. there being not so much as one entire house left. Its present inhabitants are only a few poor wretches, harbouring themselves in the vaults, and subsisting chiefly upon fishing; who seem to be preserved in this place by Divine Providence, as a visible argument, how God has fulfilled his word concerning Tyre, viz. *That it should be as the top of a rock, a place for fishers to dry their nets on.* Ezek. xxvi. 14.

In the midst of the ruins, there stands up, one pile, higher than the rest, which is the east end of a great church, probably of the cathedral of Tyre: and why not the very same that was erected by its bishop Paulinus, and honoured with that famous consecration sermon of Eusebius, recorded by himself in his Eccl. Hist. lib. 10. cap. 4, this having been an archiepiscopal see in the Christian times?

I cannot in this place, omit an observation made by most of our company in this journey, viz. That in all the ruins of churches which we saw, though their other parts were totally demolished, yet the east end we always found standing, and tolerably entire. Whether the Christians, when over-run by infidels, redeemed their altars from ruin with money; or whether, even the barbarians, when they demolished the other parts of the churches, might voluntarily spare these, out of an awe and veneration; or whether they have stood thus long, by virtue of some peculiar firmness in the nature of their fabric; or whether some occult Providence has preserved them, as so many standing monuments of Christianity in these unbelieving regions, and presages of its future restoration, I will not determine. This only will I say, that we found it in fact, so as I described, in all the ruined churches that came in our way; being perhaps not fewer than one hundred: nor do I remember ever to have seen one instance of the contrary. This might justly seem a trifling observation, were it founded upon a few examples only. But

it being a thing so often, and indeed universally observed by us, throughout our whole journey, I thought it must needs proceed from something more than blind chance, and might very well deserve this animadversion.

But to return from this digression; there being an old stair-case in this ruin last mentioned, I got up to the top of it: from whence I had an entire prospect of the island, part of Tyre, of the isthmus, and of the adjacent shore. I thought I could from this elevation discern the isthmus to be a soil of a different nature from the other two; it lying lower than either, and being covered all over with sand which the sea casts upon it, as the tokens of its natural right to a passage there, from which it was by Alexander the Great injuriously excluded. The island of Tyre in its natural state, seems to have been of a circular figure, containing not more than forty acres of ground. It discovers still the foundations of a wall, which anciently encompassed it round, at the outmost margin of the land. It makes, with the isthmus, two large bays; one on its north side, and the other on its south. These bays are, in part, defended from the ocean, each by a long ridge, resembling a mole, stretching directly out, on both sides, from the head of the island; but these ridges, whether they were walls or rocks, whether the work of art or nature, I was too far distant to discern.

Coming out of these ruins, we saw the foundation of a very strong wall, running cross the neck

of land, and serving as a barrier, to secure the city on this side. From this place, we were one third of an hour in passing the sandy isthmus, before we came to the ground, which we apprehended to be the natural shore. From hence passing over part of a very fertile plain, which extends itself to a vast compass before Tyre, we arrived in three quarters of an hour at Roselayn. Our whole stage from Sidon hither was about eight hours.

Sunday, March 21.—Roselayn is a place where are the cisterns called Solomon's, supposed, according to the common tradition hereabouts, to have been made by that great king, as part of his recompence to king Hiram, for the supplies of materials, sent by him toward the building of the Temple. They are doubtless very ancient, but yet of a much later date, than what this tradition ascribes to them. That they could not be built till since Alexander's time, may be conjectured from this, amongst other arguments; because the aqueduct, which conveys the water from hence to Tyre, is carried over the neck of land, by which Alexander in his famous siege of this place joined the city to the continent. And as the cisterns cannot well be imagined to be ancienter than the aqueduct; so one may be sure the aqueduct cannot be older than the ground it stands upon. Of these cisterns there are three entire at this day, one about a furlong and a half distant from the sea, the other two a little farther up.

The former is of an octagonal figure, twenty-two yards in diameter. It is elevated above the ground nine yards on the south side, and six on the north; and within, is said to be of an unfathomable deepness, but ten yards of line confuted that opinion. Its wall is of no better a material than gravel and small pebbles; but consolidated with so strong and tenacious a cement, that it seems to be all one entire vessel of rock. Upon the brink of it you have a walk round, eight foot broad. From which, descending by one step on the south side, and by two on the north, you have another walk twenty-one feet broad. All this structure, though so broad at top, is yet made hollow, so that the water comes in underneath the walks; insomuch that I could not with a long rod reach the extremity of the cavity. The whole vessel contains a vast body of excellent water; and is so well supplied from its fountain, that though there issues from it a stream like a brook, driving four mills between this place and the sea, yet it is always brim full. On the east side of this cistern was the ancient outlet of the water, by an aqueduct raised about six yards from the ground, and containing a channel one yard wide. But this is now stopped up, and dry; the Turks having broke an outlet on the other side, deriving thence a stream for grinding their corn.

The aqueduct (now dry) is carried eastward about one hundred and twenty paces, and then approaches the two other cisterns, of which one is twelve, the other twenty yards square. These

have each a little channel, by which they anciently rendered their waters into the aqueduct; and so the united streams of all the three cisterns were carried together to Tyre. You may trace out the aqueduct all along, by the remaining fragments of it. It goes about one hour northward, and then turning to the west, at a small mount where anciently stood a fort, but now a mosque, it proceeds over the isthmus into the city. As we passed by the aqueduct, we observed in several places on its sides, and under its arches, rugged heaps of matter resembling rocks. These were produced by the leakage of the water, which petrified as it distilled from above; and by the continual adherence of new matter, were grown to a large bulk. That which was most remarkable in them, was the frame and configuration of their parts. They were composed of innumerable tubes of stone, of different sizes, cleaving to one another like icicles. Each tube had a small cavity in its centre, from which its parts were projected in form of rays, to the circumference, after the manner of the stones vulgarly called thunder-stones.

The fountain of these waters is as unknown as the contriver of them. It is certain from their rising so high, they must be brought from some part of the mountains, which are about a league distant; and it is as certain that the work was well done at first, seeing it performs its office so well, at so great a distance of time.

Leaving this pleasant quarter, we came in an hour and half to the white promontory; so called

from the aspect it yields towards the sea. Over this you pass by a way of about two yards broad, cut along its side; from which the prospect down is very dreadful, by reason of the extreme depth and steepness of the mountain, and the raging of the waves at bottom. This way is about one third of an hour over, and is said to have been the work of Alexander the Great. About one third of an hour farther, you pass by an heap of rubbish close by the sea side, being the ruins of the castle Scandalium; taking its name from its founder, the same Alexander, whom the Turks call Scander. The ruin is one hundred and twenty paces square, having a dry ditch encompassing it; and from under it, on the side next the sea, there issues out a fountain of very fair water. In an hour from hence you come to the sixth caphar, called Nachera. And in another hour to the plain of Acra, over a very deep and rugged mountain supposed to be part of Mount-Saron. All the way from the white promontory to this plain is exceeding rocky; but here the pleasantness of the road makes you amends for the former labour.

The plain of Acra extends itself in length from Mount-Saron as far as Carmel, which is at least six good hours; and in breadth, between the sea and the mountains, it is in most places two hours over. It enjoys good streams of water at convenient distances, and every thing else, that might render it both pleasant and fruitful. But this delicious plain is now almost desolate; being suffered, for want of culture, to run up to rank

weeds, which were, at the time when we passed it, as high as our horses' backs.

Having travelled about one hour in the plain of Acra, we passed by an old town called Zib, situate on the ascent close by the sea side. This may probably be the old Achzib, mentioned Josh. xix. 29. and Judg. i. 31. called afterwards Ecdippa: for St. Jerom places Achzib nine miles distant from Ptolemais toward Tyre, to which account we found the situation of Zib exactly agreeing. This is one of the places, out of which the Ashurites could not expel the Canaanitish natives. Two hours farther we came to a fountain of very good water, called by the French merchants at Acra, the fountain of the blessed Virgin. In one hour more we arrived at Acra. Our whole stage from Roselayn hither, was about eight hours and a half.

Acra had anciently the name of Accho, and is another of the places, out of which the children of Israel could not drive the primitive inhabitants, Judg. i. 31. Being in after times enlarged by Ptolemy the First, it was called by him, from his own name Ptolemais. But now since it hath been in the possession of the Turks, it has (according to the example of many other cities in Turkey) cast off its Greek, and * recovered some

* Ammian. Marcell. says, the Greek and Roman names of places never took amongst the natives of this country: which is the reason that most places retain their first oriental names at this day, lib. 14, Hist. *non longe ab initio.*

semblance of its old Hebrew name again; being called Acca, or Acra.

This city was for a long time the theatre of contention between the Christians and the infidels; till at last, after having divers times changed its masters, it was by a long siege finally taken by the Turks, and ruined by them in such a manner, as if they had thought they could never take a full revenge upon it for the blood it had cost them, or sufficiently prevent such slaughters for the future. As to its situation, it enjoys all possible advantages both of sea and land. On its north and east sides it is compassed with a spacious and fertile plain; on the west, it is washed by the Mediterranean sea, and on the south by a large bay, extending from the city as far as Mount Carmel.

But notwithstanding all these advantages, it has never been able to recover itself, since its last fatal overthrow. For besides a large kane, in which the French factors have taken up their quarters, and a mosque, and a few poor cottages, you see nothing here but a vast and spacious ruin. It is such a ruin, however, as sufficiently demonstrates the strength of the place in former times. It appears to have been encompassed, on the land side, by a double wall defended with towers at small distances: and without the walls are ditches, ramparts, and a kind of bastions faced with hewn stone. In the fields without these works, we saw scattered up and down upon the ground several

large balls of stone, of at least thirteen or fourteen inches diameter; which were part of the ammunition used in battering the city, guns being then unknown. Within the walls there still appear several ruins which seem to distinguish themselves from the general heap, by some marks of a greater strength and magnificence. At first, those of the cathedral church dedicated to St. Andrew, which stands not far from the sea side, more high and conspicuous than the other ruins. Secondly, the church of St. John, the tutelar saint of this city. Thirdly, the convent of the knights hospitallers; a place, whose remaining walls sufficiently testify its ancient strength. And not far from the convent, the palace of the grand master of that order; the magnificence of which, may be guessed from a large stair-case, and part of a church still remaining in it. Fourthly, some remains of a large church formerly belonging to a nunnery, of which they tell this memorable story: The Turks having pressed this city with a long and furious siege, at last entered it by storm, May 19, 1291. In which great extremity, the abbess of this nunnery, fearing lest she, and those under her care, might be forced to submit to such bestialities, as are usual in cases of that deplorable nature, used this cruel but generous means for securing both herself and them. She summoned all her flock together, and exhorted them to cut and mangle their faces, as the only way to preserve their virgin purity; and to shew how much she was in earnest, she immediately began before them

all, to make herself an example of her own counsel. The nuns were so animated by this heroical resolution, and pattern of the abbess, that they began instantly to follow her example, cutting off their noses, and disfiguring their faces with such terrible gashes, as might excite horror rather than lustful desires in the beholders. The consequence of which was, that the soldiers breaking into the nunnery, and seeing, instead of those beautiful ladies they expected, such tragical spectacles, took a revenge for their disappointed lusts, by putting them all to the sword. Thus restoring them, as in charity we may suppose, to a new and inviolable beauty. But to go on; many other ruins here are of churches, palaces, monasteries, forts, &c. extending for more than half a mile in length; in all which you may discern marks of so much strength, as if every building in the city had been contrived for war and defence.

But that which pleased us most at Acra, was to find the French consul monsieur l'Empereur there; who had been so generous, as to make a halt of two days, in expectation of our arrival. But he had staid to the utmost extent of his time, and therefore, resolved to set forward again the next morning. Our greatest difficulty was to determine which road to take, whether that upon the coast by Cæsarea and Joppa; or that by Nazareth, or a middle way between both the other, over the plain of Esdraelon.

The cause of this uncertainty was, the embroilments and factions that were then amongst the

Arabs; which made us desirous to keep as far as possible out of their way. It is the policy of the Turks, always to sow divisions amongst these wild people, by setting up several heads over their tribes, often deposing the old, and placing new ones in their stead: by which art they create contrary interests and parties amongst them, preventing them from ever uniting under any one prince; which, if they should have the sense to do, (being so numerous, and almost the sole inhabitants thereabouts) they might shake off the Turkish yoke, and make themselves supreme lords of the country.

But however useful these discords may be to the Turks in this respect, yet a stranger is sure to suffer by them; being made a prey to each party, according as he happens to come in their way: avoiding which abuses, we resolved to take the middle way, as the most secure at this time.

Monday, March 22.—According to which purpose, we set out early the next morning from Acra, having with us a band of Turkish soldiers for our securer convoy. Our road lay, for about half an hour, along by the side of the bay of Acra; and then, arriving at the bottom of the bay, we turned southward. Here we passed a small river which we took to be Belus, famous for its sand, which is said to be an excellent material for making glass; as also to have ministered the first occasion and hint of that invention.

Here we began to decline from the sea coast, upon which we had travelled so many days be-

fore, and to draw off more easterly, crossing obliquely over the plain; and in two good hours we arrived at its farther side, where it is bounded by Mount Carmel. Here you find a narrow valley letting you out of the plain of Acra into that of Esdraelon. Hereabouts is the end of the tribe of Asher, and the beginning of that of Zabulon; the borders of these two tribes being thus described, Josh. xix. 26.

Passing through the narrow valley which makes a communication between the two plains, we arrived in two hours at that ancient river, the river Kishon; which cuts his way down the middle of the plain of Esdraelon, and then continuing his course close by the side of Mount Carmel, falls nto the sea, at a place called Caypha. In the condition we saw it, its waters were low and inconsiderable; but in passing along the side of the plain, we discerned the tracts of many lesser torrents, falling down into it from the mountains; which must needs make it swell exceedingly upon sudden rains, as doubtless it actually did at the destruction of Sisera's host, Judg. v. 21. In three hours and a half from Kishon we came to small brook, near which was an old village and a good kane called Legune: not far from which we took up our quarters this night. From this place we had a large prospect of the plain of Esdraelon, which is of a vast extent, and very fertile, but uncultivated; only serving the Arabs for pasturage. At about six or seven hours distance eastward, stood within view Nazareth, and the

two Mounts Tabor and Hermon. We were sufficiently instructed by experience, what the holy Psalmist means by *the dew of Hermon,* our tents being as wet with it, as if it had rained all night. At about a mile's distance from us, was encamped Chibly, emir of the Arabs, with his people and cattle; and below upon the brook Kishon, lay encamped another clan of the Arabs, being the adverse party to Chibly. We had much the less satisfaction in this place, for being seated in the midst, between two such bad neighbours. Our stage this day was in all eight hours; our course south east by south, or thereabout.

Tuesday, March 23.—Leaving this lodging, we arrived in one third of an hour at the emir's tents, who came out in person to take his duties of us. We paid him* two caphars, viz. one of Legune, and another of Jeneen, and besides the caphars, whatever else he was pleased to demand. He eased us in a very courteous manner of some of our coats, which now (the heat both of the climate and season increasing upon us) began to grow not only superfluous, but burdensome.

Getting quit of Chibly, we turned out of the plain of Esdraelon, and entered into the precincts of the half tribe of Manasses. From hence our road lay for about four hours through narrow vallies, pleasantly wooded on both sides. After which, crossing another small fruitful plain, we

* For both caphars, eight per Frank, and three per servant.

came in half an hour to Caphar Arab, where we lodged. Our whole stage exceeded not five hours; our course being near as the day before.

Wednesday, March 24.—Having paid our caphar, we set out very early the next morning; and leaving first Arab, and then Rama (two mountain villages), on the right hand, we arrived in one hour at a fair fountain called Selee, taking its name from an adjacent village. In one hour more we came to Sebasta. Here you leave the borders of the half tribe of Manasses, and enter into those of the tribe of Ephraim.

Sebasta is the ancient Samaria, the imperial city of the ten tribes, after their revolt from the house of David. It lost its former name in the time of Herod the Great, who raised it from a ruined to a most magnificent state, and called it, in honour of Augustus Cæsar, Sebasta. It is situate upon a long mount of an oval figure, having first a fruitful valley, and then a ring of hills running round about it. This great city is now wholly converted into gardens; and all the tokens that remain to testify that there has ever been such a place, are only on the north side, a large square piazza, encompassed with pillars, and on the east, some poor remains of a great church, said to have been built by the empress Helena, over the place where St. John Baptist was both imprisoned and beheaded. In the body of the church you go down a stair-case, into the very dungeon where that holy blood was shed. The Turks (of whom

here are a few poor families) hold this prison in great veneration, and over it have erected a small mosque; but for a little piece of money they suffer you to go in and satisfy your curiosity at pleasure.

Leaving Sebasta we passed in half an hour by Sherack, and in another half hour by Barseba, two villages on the right hand: and then entering into a narrow valley, lying east and west, and watered with a fine rivulet, we arrived in one hour at Naplosa.

Naplosa is the ancient Sychem, or Sychar, as it is termed in the New Testament. It stands in a narrow valley between Mount Gerizim on the south, and Ebal on the north, being built at the foot of the former; for so the situation both of the city and mountains is laid down by Josephus, Antiq. Jud. lib. 5. cap. 9. Gerizim (says he) hangeth over Sychem; and lib. 4. cap. ult. Moses commanded to erect an altar toward the east, not far from Sychem, between Mount Gerizim on the right hand (that is, to one looking eastward on the south), and Hebal on the left (that is on the north); which so plainly assigns the position of these two mountains, that it may be wondered how geographers should come to differ so much about it; or for what reason Adrichomius should place them both on the same side of the valley of Sychem. From Mount Gerizim it was, that God commanded the blessings to be pronounced upon the children of Israel, and from Mount Ebal the curses, Deut. xi. 29. Upon the former, the Sa-

maritans, whose chief residence is here at Sychem, have a small temple or place of worship, to which they are still wont to repair at certain seasons, for performance of the rites of their religion. What these rites are I could not certainly learn; but that their religion consists in the adoration of a calf, as the Jews give out, seems to have more of spite than of truth in it.

Upon one of these mountains also it was, that God commanded the children of Israel to set up great stones, plastered over and inscribed with the body of their law; and to erect an altar, and to offer sacrifices, feasting and rejoicing before the Lord, Deut. xxvii. 4. But now whether Gerizim or Ebal was the place appointed for this solemnity, there is some cause to doubt. The Hebrew Pentateuch, and ours from it, assigns Mount Ebal for this use, but the Samaritan asserts it to be Gerizim.

Our company halting a little while at Naplosa, I had an opportunity to go and visit the chief priest of the Samaritans, in order to discourse with him, about this and some other difficulties occurring in the Pentateuch, which were recommended to me to be inquired about, by the learned monsieur Job Ludolphus, author of the Æthiopic History, when I visited him at Franckford, in my passage through Germany.

As for the difference between the Hebrew and Samaritan copy, Deut. xxvii. 4, before cited, the priest pretended the Jews had maliciously altered their text, out of *odium* to the Samaritans; put-

ting for Gerizim, Ebal, upon no other account, but only because the Samaritans worshipped in the former mountain, which they would have, for that reason, not to be the true place appointed by God for his worship and sacrifice. To confirm this, he pleaded that Ebal was the mountain of cursing, Deut. xi. 29, and in its own nature an unpleasant place: but on the contrary, Gerizim was the mountain of blessing by God's own appointment, and also in itself fertile and delightful; from whence he inferred a probability that this latter must have been the true mountain, appointed for those religious festivals, Deut. xxvii. 4. and not (as the Jews have corruptly written it) Hebal. We observed that to be in some measure true, which he pleaded concerning the nature of both mountains; for though neither of the mountains has much to boast of as to their pleasantness, yet, as one passes between them, Gerizim seems to discover a somewhat more verdant fruitful aspect than Ebal. The reason of which may be, because fronting towards the north, it is sheltered from the heat of the sun by its own shade; whereas Ebal looking southward, and receiving the sun that comes directly upon it, must by consequence be rendered more scorched and unfruitful. The Samaritan priest could not say that any of those great stones, which God directed Joshua to set up, were now to be seen in Mount Gerizim; which, were they now extant, would determine the question clearly on his side.

I inquired of him next, what sort of animal he

thought those selavæ might be, which the children of Israel were so long fed with in the Wilderness, Num. xi. He answered, they were a sort of fowls; and by the description which he gave of them, I perceived he meant the same kind with our quails. I asked him what he thought of locusts, and whether the history might not be better accounted for, supposing them to be the winged creatures that fell so thick about the camp of Israel? But, by his answer, it appeared he had never heard of any such hypothesis. Then I demanded of him, what sort of plant or fruit the dudaim, or (as we translate it) mandrakes were, which Leah gave to Rachel, for the purchase of her husband's embraces? He said they were plants of a large leaf, bearing a certain sort of fruit, in shape resembling an apple, growing ripe in harvest, but of an ill savour, and not wholesome. But the virtue of them was to help conception, being laid under the genial bed. That the women were often wont so to apply it, at this day, out of an opinion of its prolific virtue. Of these plants I saw several afterwards in the way to Jerusalem; and if they were so common in Mesopotamia, as we saw them hereabout, one must either conclude that these could not be the true mandrakes (dudaim), or else it would puzzle a good critic to give a reason, why Rachel should purchase such vulgar things at so beloved and contested a price.

This priest shewed me a copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch, but would not be persuaded to part

with it upon any consideration. He had likewise the first volume of the Engligh Polyglot, which he seemed to esteem equally with his own manuscript.

Naplosa is at present in a very mean condition, in comparison of what it is represented to have been anciently. It consists chiefly of two streets lying parallel, under Mount Gerizim; but it is full of people, and the seat of a bassa.

Having paid our caphar here, we set forward again in the evening, and proceeding in the same narrow valley, between Gerizim and Ebal (not above a furlong broad), we saw on our right hand just without the city, a small mosque, said to have been built over the sepulchre purchased by Jacob, of Emmor, the father of Shechem, Gen. xxxiii. 19. It goes by the name of Joseph's sepulchre, his bones having been here interred after their transportation out of Egypt, Josh. xxiv. 32.

At about one third of an hour from Naplosa, we came to Jacob's Well; famous not only upon account of its author, but much more for that memorable conference which our blessed Saviour here had with the woman of Samaria, John iv. If it should be questioned, whether this be the very well that it is pretended for, or no, seeing it may be suspected to stand too remote from Sychar, for women to come so far to draw water? it is answered, that probably the city extended farther this way in former times than it does now; as may be conjectured from some pieces of a very thick wall, still to be seen not far from hence. Over

the well there stood formerly a large church, erected by that great and devout patroness of the Holy Land, the empress Helena; but of this the voracity of time, assisted by the hands of the Turks, has left nothing but a few foundations remaining. The well is covered at present with an old stone vault, into which you are let down through a very strait hole; and then removing a broad flat stone, you discover the mouth of the well itself. It is dug in a firm rock, and contains about three yards in diameter, and thirty-five in depth; five of which we found full of water. This confutes a story commonly told to travellers, who do not take the pains to examine the well, viz. that it is dry all the year round, except on the anniversary of that day on which our blessed Saviour sat upon it, but then bubbles up with abundance of water.

At this well the narrow valley of Sychem ends, opening itself into a wide field, which is probably part of that parcel of ground, given by Jacob to his son Joseph, John iv. 5. It is watered with a fresh stream, rising between it and Sychem; which makes it so exceeding verdant and fruitful, that it may well be looked upon as a standing token of the tender affection of that good patriarch to the best of sons, Gen. xlviii. 22.

From Jacob's Well our road went southward, along a very spacious and fertile valley. Having passed by two villages on the right hand, one called Howar, the other Sawee, we arrived in four hours at Kane Leban, and lodged there.

Our whole stage to-day was about eight hours; our course variable between east and south.

Kane Leban stands on the east side of a delicious vale, having a village of the same name standing opposite to it on the other side of the vale. One of these places, either the kane or the village, is supposed to have been the Lebonah mentioned Judges xi. 19. to which both the name and situation seem to agree.

Thursday, March 25.—From Kane Leban our road lay through a more mountainous and rocky country, of which we had a specimen as soon as we were mounted the next morning, our first task being to climb a very craggy and difficult mountain. In three quarters of an hour we left, at some distance on the right hand, a village called Cinga; and in one hour more, we entered into a very narrow valley, between two high rocky hills, at the farther end of which we found the ruins of a village, and of a monastery. In this very place, or hereabouts, Jacob's Bethel is supposed to have been; where he had his stony couch made easy by that beautifying vision of God, and of the angels ascending and descending, on a ladder reaching from earth to heaven, Gen. xxviii. Near this place are the limits separating between Ephraim and Benjamin, Josh. xviii. 13.

From hence we passed through large olive-yards; and having left, first Geeb and then Selwid (two Arab villages) on the right hand, we came in an hour and a half to an old way cut with great la-

bour over a rocky precipice, and in one hour more we arrived at Beer. This is the place to which Jotham fled from the revenge of his brother Abimelech; Judges ix. 21. It is supposed also to be the same with Michmas, 1 Sam. xiv.

Beer enjoys a very pleasant situation, on an easy declivity fronting southward. At the bottom of the hill, it has a plentiful fountain of excellent water, from which it has its name. At the upper side are the remains of an old church, built by the empress Helena, in memory of the blessed Virgin, who when she went in quest of *the child Jesus*, as it is related, Luke ii. 24. came (as tradition adds) to this city, and not finding Him, whom her soul loved, in the company, she sat down, weary and pensive at so sad a disappointment, in the very place where the church now stands. But afterwards returning to Jerusalem, she had her maternal fears turned into joy, when *she found him sitting in the temple amongst the doctors, both hearing them, and asking them questions.*

All along this day's travel from Kane Leban to Beer, and also as far as we could see round, the country discovered quite a different face from what it had before, presenting nothing to the view in most places, but naked rocks, mountains, and precipices. At sight of which, pilgrims are apt to be much astonished and baulked in their expectations; finding that country in such an inhospitable condition, concerning whose pleasantness and plenty they had before formed in their minds such high ideas, from the description given of it

in the word of God; insomuch that it almost startles their faith, when they reflect, how it could be possible, for a land like this to supply food for so prodigious a number of inhabitants, as are said to have been polled in the twelve tribes at one time; the sum given in by Job, 2 Sam. xxiv. amounting to no less than thirteen hundred thousand fighting men, besides women and children. But it is certain that any man, who is not a little biassed to infidelity before, may see, as he passes along, arguments enough to support his faith against such scruples.

For it is obvious for any one to observe, that these rocks and hills, must have been anciently covered with earth, and cultivated, and made to contribute to the maintenance of the inhabitants, no less than if the country had been all plain: nay perhaps, much more; forasmuch as such a mountainous and uneven surface affords a larger space of ground for cultivation, than this country would amount to, if it were all reduced to a perfect level.

For the husbanding of these mountains, their manner was to gather up the stones, and place them in several lines, along the sides of the hills, in form of a wall. By such borders, they supported the mould from tumbling, or being washed down; and formed many beds of excellent soil, rising gradually one above another, from the bottom to the top of the mountains.

Of this form of culture you see evident footsteps, wherever you go in all the mountains of Palestine. Thus the very rocks were made fruit-

ful. And perhaps there is no spot of ground in this whole land, that was not formerly improved, to the production of something or other, ministering to the sustenance of human life. For, than the plain countries, nothing can be more fruitful, whether for the production of corn or cattle, and consequently of milk. The hills, though improper for all cattle, except goats, yet being disposed into such beds as are afore described, served very well to bear corn, melons, goards, cucumbers, and such like garden-stuff, which makes the principal food of these countries for several months in the year. The most rocky parts of all, which could not well be adjusted in that manner for the production of corn, might yet serve for the plantation of vines and olive-trees; which delight to extract, the one its fatness, the other its sprightly juice, chiefly out of such dry and flinty places. And the great plain joining to the dead sea, which by reason of its saltness, might be thought unserviceable both for cattle, corn, olives, and vines, had yet its proper usefulness, the nourishment of bees, and for the fabric of honey; of which Josephus gives us his testimony, De Bell. Jud. lib. 5. cap. 4. And I have reason to believe it, because when I was there, I perceived in many places a smell of honey and wax, as strong as if one had been in an apiary. Why then might not this country very well maintain the vast number of its inhabitants, being in every part so productive of either milk, corn, wine, oil, or honey, which are the principal food of these eastern nations? The constitution

of their bodies, and the nature of their clime, inclining them to a more abstemious diet than we use in England, and other colder regions. But I hasten to Jerusalem.

Leaving Beer, we proceeded as before, in a rude stony country, which yet yielded us the sight of several old ruined villages. In two hours and one third we came to the top of a hill, from whence we had the first prospect of Jerusalem; Rama, anciently called Gibeah of Saul, being within view on the right hand, and the plain of Jericho, and the mountains of Gilead on the left. In one hour more we approached the walls of the holy city; but we could not enter immediately, it being necessary first to send a messenger to acquaint the governor of our arrival, and to desire liberty of entrance. Without which preceding ceremony, no Frank dares come within the walls. We, therefore, passed along by the west side of the city, and coming to the corner above Bethlehem-gate, made a stop there, in order to expect the return of our messenger. We had not waited above half an hour, when he brought us our permission, and we entered accordingly at Bethlehem-gate. It is required of all Franks, unless they happen to come in with some public minister, to dismount at the gate, to deliver their arms, and enter on foot: but we coming in company with the French consul, had the privilege to enter mounted and armed. Just within the gate, we turned up a street on the left hand, and were conducted by the consul to

his own house, with most friendly and generous invitations to make that our home, as long as we should continue at Jerusalem. Having taken a little refreshment, we went to the Latin convent, at which all Frank pilgrims are wont to be entertained. The guardian and friars received us with many kind welcomes; and kept us with them at supper: after which we returned to the French consul's to bed. And thus we continued to take our lodging at the consul's, and our board with the friars, during our whole stay at Jerusalem.

Friday, March 26.—The next day being Good-Friday in the Latin style, the consul was obliged to go into the church of the Sepulchre, in order to keep his feast; whither we accompanied him, although our own Easter was not till a week after theirs. We found the church doors guarded by several janizaries, and other Turkish officers; who are placed here to watch, that none enter in, but such as have first paid their appointed caphar. This is more or less, according to the country, or the character of the persons that enter. For Franks, it is ordinary fourteen dollars per head, unless they are ecclesiastics; for in that case it is but half so much.

Having once paid this caphar, you may go in and out *gratis*, as often as you please, during the whole feast; provided you take the ordinary opportunities in which it is customary to open the doors: but if you would have them opened at any

time out of the common course, purposely for your own private occasion, then the first expence must be paid again.

The pilgrims being all admitted this day, the church doors were locked in the evening, and opened no more till Easter day; by which we were kept in a close, but very happy confinement for three days. We spent our time in viewing the ceremonies practised by the Latins at this festival, and in visiting the several holy places; all which we had opportunity to survey, with as much freedom and deliberation as we pleased.

And being now got under the sacred roof, and having the advantage of so much leisure and freedom, I might expatiate in a large description of the several holy places which this church (as a cabinet) contains in it. But this would be a superfluous prolixity; so many pilgrims having discharged this office with so much exactness already, and especially our learned, sagacious countryman Mr. Sandys; whose descriptions and draughts, both of this church, and also of the other remarkable places in and about Jerusalem, must be acknowledged so faithful and perfect, that they leave very little to be added by aftercomers, and nothing to be corrected. I shall content myself, therefore, to relate only what passed in the church during this festival, saying no more of the church itself, than just what is necessary to make my account intelligible.

The church of the Holy Sepulchre is founded upon Mount Calvary, which is a small eminency

or hill upon the greater Mount of Moriah. It was anciently appropriated to the execution of malefactors, and therefore shut out of the walls of the city, as an execrable and polluted place. But since it was made the altar on which was offered up the precious, and all-sufficient sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, it has recovered itself from that infamy, and has been always reverenced and resorted to, with such devotion by all Christians, that it has attracted the city round about it, and stands now in the midst of Jerusalem, a great part of the hill of Sion being shut out of the walls, to make room for the admission of Calvary.

In order to the fitting of this hill for the foundation of a church, the first founders were obliged to reduce it to a plain area; which they did by cutting down several parts of the rock, and by elevating others. But in this work, care was taken, that none of those parts of the hill, which were reckoned to be more immediately concerned in our blessed Lord's passion, should be altered or diminished. Thus that very part of Calvary, where they say Christ was fastened to, and lifted upon his cross, is left entire; being about ten or twelve yards square, and standing at this day so high above the common floor of the church, that you have 21 steps or stairs to go up to its top: and the holy sepulchre itself, which was at first a cave hewn into the rock under ground, having had the rock cut away from it all round, is now, as it were, a grotto above ground.

The church is less than one hundred paces long,

and not more than sixty wide: and yet is so contrived, that it is supposed to contain under its roof twelve or thirteen sanctuaries, or places consecrated to a more than ordinary veneration, by being reputed to have some particular actions done in them, relating to the death and resurrection of Christ. As first, the place where he was derided by the soldiers: secondly, where the soldiers divided his garments: thirdly, where he was shut up, whilst they digged the hole to set the foot of the cross in, and made all ready for his crucifixion: fourthly, where he was nailed to the cross: fifthly, where the cross was erected: sixthly, where the soldier stood, that pierced his side: seventhly, where his body was anointed, in order to his burial: eighthly, where his body was deposited in the sepulchre; ninthly, where the angels appeared to the women after his resurrection: tenthly, where Christ himself appeared to Mary Magdalen, &c. The places where these and many other things relating to our blessed Lord, are said to have been done, are all supposed to be contained within the narrow precincts of this church, and are all distinguished and adorned with so many several altars.

In galleries round about the church, and also in little buildings annexed to it on the outside, are certain apartments for the reception of friars and pilgrims; and in these places almost every Christian nation anciently maintained a small society of monks; each society having its proper quarter assigned to it, by the appointment of the Turks:

such as the Latins, Greeks, Syrians, Armenians, Abbyssines, Georgians, Nestorians, Cophtites, Maronites, &c. all which had anciently their several apartments in the church. But these have all, except four, forsaken their quarters; not being able to sustain the severe rents and extortions which their Turkish landlords impose upon them. The Latins, Greeks, Armenians, and Cophtites, keep their footing still, but of these four, the Cophtites have now only one poor representative of their nation left; and the Armenians are run so much in debt, that it is supposed they are hastening apace to follow the examples of their brethren, who have deserted before them.

Besides their several apartments, each fraternity have their altars and sanctuary, properly and distinctly allotted to their own use. At which places they have a peculiar right to perform their own divine service, and to exclude other nations from them.

But that which has always been the great prize contended for by the several sects, is the command and appropriation of the holy sepulchre: a privilege contested with so much unchristian fury and animosity, especially between the Greeks and Latins, that in disputing which party should go in to celebrate their mass, they have sometimes proceeded to blows and wounds even at the very door of the sepulchre; mingling their own blood with their sacrifices. An evidence of which fury, the father guardian shewed us in a great scar upon his arm, which he told us was the mark

of a wound given him by a sturdy Greek priest, in one of these unholy wars. Who can expect ever to see these holy places rescued from the hands of infidels? Or, if they should be recovered, what deplorable contests might be expected to follow about them! seeing even in their present state of captivity, they are made the occasion of such unchristian rage and animosity.

For putting an end to these infamous quarrels, the French king interposed, by a letter to the grand vizier, about twelve years since; requesting him to order the holy sepulchre to be put into the hands of the Latins, according to the tenor of the capitulation, made in the year, 1673. The consequence of which letter, and of other instances made by the French king, was, that the holy sepulchre was appropriated to the Latins: this was not accomplished till the year 1690, they alone having the privilege to say mass in it. And though it be permitted to Christians of all nations to go into it for their private devotions, yet none may solemnize any public office of religion there, but the Latins.

The daily employment of these recluses, is to trim the lamps, and to make devotional visits and processions to the several sanctuaries in the church. Thus they spend their time, many of them for four or six years together: nay, so far are some transported with the pleasing contemplations in which they here entertain themselves, that they will never come out to their dying day, burying themselves (as it were) alive in our Lord's grave.

The Latins, of whom there are always about ten or twelve residing at the church, with a president over them, make every day a solemn procession, with tapers and crucifixes, and other processionary solemnities, to the several sanctuaries; singing at every one of them a Latin hymn, relating to the subject of each place. These Latins being more polite and exact in their functions than the other monks here residing, and also our conversation being chiefly with them, I will only describe their ceremonies, without taking notice of what was done by others, who did not so much come under our observation.

This ceremony begins on Good Friday night, which is called by them the *nox tenebrosa*, and is observed with such an extraordinary solemnity, that I cannot omit to give a particular description of it.

As soon as it grew dusk, all the friars and pilgrims were convened in the chapel of the apparition (which is a small oratory on the north side of the holy grave, adjoining to the apartment of the Latins) in order to go in a procession round the church. But, before they set out, one of the friars preached a sermon in Italian in that chapel. He began his discourse thus: *In questa notte tenebrosa, &c.* at which words all the candles were instantly put out, to yield a livelier image of the occasion. And so we were held by the preacher, for near half an hour, very much in the dark. Sermon being ended, every person present had a large lighted taper put into his hand,

as if it were to make amends for the former darkness; and the crucifixes, and other utensils, were disposed in order for beginning the procession. Amongst the other crucifixes, there was one of a very large size, which bore upon it the image of our Lord, as big as the life. The image was fastened to it with great nails, crowned with thorns, besmeared with blood; and so exquisitely was it formed, that it represented in a very lively manner the lamentable spectacle of our Lord's body, as it hung upon the cross. This figure was carried all along in the head of the procession; after which, the company followed to all the sanctuaries in the church, singing their appointed hymn at every one.

The first place they visited was that of the pillar of flagellation, a large piece of which is kept in a little cell just at the door of the chapel of the Apparition. There they sung their proper hymn; and another friar entertained the company with a sermon in Spanish, touching the scourging of our Lord.

From hence they proceeded in solemn order to the prison of Christ, where they pretend he was secured whilst the soldiers made things ready for his crucifixion; here, likewise, they sung their hymn, and a third friar preached in French.

From the prison, they went to the altar of the division of Christ's garments; where they only sung their hymn, without adding any sermon.

Having done here, they advanced to the chapel of the Derision; at which, after their hymn,

they had a fourth sermon (as I remember) in French.

From this place they went up to Calvary, leaving their shoes at the bottom of the stairs. Here are two altars to be visited: one, where our Lord is supposed to have been nailed to his cross; another, where his cross was erected. At the former of these, they lay down the great crucifix, (which I but now described) upon the floor, and acted a kind of a resemblance of Christ's being nailed to the cross; and after the hymn, one of the friars preached another sermon in Spanish, upon the crucifixion.

From hence they removed to the adjoining altar, where the cross is supposed to have been erected, bearing the image of our Lord's body. At this altar, is a hole in the natural rock, said to be the very same individual one, in which the foot of our Lord's cross stood. Here they set up their cross, with the bloody crucified image upon it; and leaving it in that posture, they first sung their hymn, and then the father guardian, sitting in a chair before it, preached a passion sermon in Italian.

At about one yard and a half distance from the hole, in which the foot of the cross was fixed, is seen that memorable cleft in the rock, said to have been made by the earthquake which happened at the suffering of the God of Nature; when (as St. Matthew, ch. xxvii. ver. 51. witnesseth) *the rocks rent, and the very graves were opened.* This cleft, as to what now appears of it, is about

a span wide at its upper part, and two deep; after which it closes; but it opens again below, (as you may see in another chapel contiguous to the side of Calvary); and runs down to an unknown depth in the earth. That this rent was made by the earthquake, that happened at our Lord's passion, there is only tradition to prove: but that it is a natural and genuine breach, and not counterfeited by any art, the sense and reason of every one that sees it may convince him; for the sides of it fit like two tallies to each other; and yet it runs in such intricate windings as could not well be counterfeited by art, nor arrived at by any instruments.

The ceremony of the passion being over, and the guardian's sermon ended, two friars, personating the one Joseph of Arimathea, the other Nicodemus, approached the cross, and with a most solemn concerned air, both of aspect and behaviour, drew out the great nails, and took down the feigned body from the cross. It was an effigy so contrived, that its limbs were soft and flexible, as if they had been real flesh: and nothing could be more surprising, than to see the two pretended mourners bend down the arms, which were before extended, and dispose them upon the trunk, in such a manner as is usual in corpses.

The body being taken down from the cross, was received in a fair large winding-sheet, and carried down from Calvary; the whole company attending as before, to the stone of unction. This is taken for the very place where the precious body

of our Lord was anointed, and prepared for the burial, John xix. 39. Here they laid down their maginary corpse; and casting over it several sweet powders and spices, wrapt it up in the winding-sheet: whilst this was doing, they sung their proper hymn, and afterwards one of the friars preached in Arabic, a funeral sermon.

These obsequies being finished, they carried off their fancied corpse, and laid it in thesepulchre; shutting up the door till Easter morning. And now after so many sermons, and so long, not to say tedious a ceremony, it may well be imagined that the weariness of the congregation, as well as the hour of the night, made it needful to go to rest.

Saturday, March 27.—The next morning nothing extraordinary passed; which gave many of the pilgrims leisure to have their arms marked with the usual ensigns of Jerusalem. The artists, who undertake the operation, do it in this manner: they have stamps in wood of any figure that you desire, which they first print off upon your arm with powder and charcoal; then taking two very fine needles tied close together, and dipping them often, like a pen, in certain ink, compounded, as I was informed, of gunpowder and ox-gall, they make with them small punctures all along the lines of the figure which they have printed; and then washing the part in wine, conclude the work. These punctures they make with great quickness and dexterity, and with scarce

any smart, seldom piercing so deep as to draw blood.

In the afternoon of this day, the congregation was assembled in the area before the holy grave; where the friars spent some hours in singing over the Lamentations of Jeremiah, which function, with the usual procession to the holy places, was all the ceremony this day.

Sunday, March 28.—On the Easter morning the sepulchre was again set open very early. The clouds of the former morning were cleared up; and the friars put on a face of joy and serenity; as if it had been the real juncture of our Lord's resurrection. Nor doubtless was this joy feigned, whatever their mourning might be, this being the day in which their Lenten disciplines expired, and they were come to a full belly again.

The mass was celebrated this morning just before the holy sepulchre, being the most eminent place in the church; where the father guardian had a throne erected, and being arrayed in episcopal robes, with a mitre on his head, in the sight of the Turks, he gave the host to all that were disposed to receive it; not refusing children of seven or eight years old. This office being ended, we made our exit out of the sepulchre, and returning to the convent, dined with the friars.

After dinner, we took an opportunity to go and visit some of the remarkable places without the city walls; we began with those on the north side.

The first place we were conducted to was a large

grot, a little without Damascus gate; said to have been some time the residence of Jeremiah. On the left side of it, is shewn the prophet's bed, being a shelve on the rock, about eight feet from the ground; and not far from this, is the place where they say he wrote his Lamentations. This place is at present a college of dervises, and is held in great veneration by the Turks and Jews, as well as Christians.

The next place we came to, was those famous grots called the Sepulchres of the Kings; but for what reason they go by that name is hard to resolve: for it is certain none of the kings, either of Israel or Judah, were buried here; the holy Scriptures assigning other places for their sepultures: unless it may be thought perhaps that Hezekiah was here interred, and that these were the sepulchres of the sons of David, mentioned 2 Chron. xxxii. 33. Whoever was buried here, this is certain, that the place itself discovers so great an expense both of labour and treasure, that we may well suppose it to have been the work of kings. You approach to it at the east side, through an entrance cut out of the natural rock, which admits you into an open court of about forty paces square, cut down into the rock, with which it is encompassed instead of walls. On the south side of the court is a portico, nine paces long and four broad, hewn likewise out of the natural rock. This is a kind of architrave running along its front, adorned with sculpture of fruits and flowers, still discernible, but by time much defaced. At the end of

the portico on the left hand, you descend to the passage into the sepulchres. The door is now so obstructed with stones and rubbish, that it is a thing of some difficulty to creep through it. But within you arrive in a large fair room, about seven or eight yards square, cut out of the natural rock. Its sides and ceiling are so exactly square, and its angles so just, that no architect with levels and plummets could build a room more regular; and the whole is so firm and entire, that it may be called a chamber hollowed out of one piece of marble. From this room, you pass into (I think) six more, one within another, all of the same fabric with the first. Of these, the two innermost are deeper than the rest, having a second descent of about six or seven steps into them.

In every one of these rooms, except the first, were coffins of stone placed in niches in the sides of the chambers. They had been at first covered with handsome lids, and carved with garlands; but now most of them were broke to pieces by sacrilegious hands. The sides and ceiling of the rooms were always dropping, with the moist damps condensing upon them. To remedy which nuisance, and to preserve these chambers of the dead polite and clean, there was in each room a small channel cut in the floor, which served to drain the drops that fall constantly into it.

But the most surprising thing belonging to these subterraneous chambers was their doors, of which there is only one that remains hanging, be-

ing left as it were on purpose to puzzle the beholders. It consisted of a plank of stone of about six inches in thickness, and in its other dimensions equalling the size of an ordinary door, or somewhat less. It was carved in such a manner, as to resemble a piece of wainscot: the stone of which it was made, was visibly of the same kind with the whole rock; and it turned upon two hinges in the nature of axels. These hinges were of the same entire piece of stone with the door; and were contained in two holes of the immovable rock, one at the top, the other at the bottom.

From this description it is obvious to start a question, how such doors as these were made; whether they were cut out of the rock, in the same place and manner as they now hang; or whether they were brought, and fixed in their station like other doors? One of these must be supposed to have been done; and which soever part we choose, as most probable, it seems at first glance to be not without its difficulty. But thus much I have to say, for the resolving of this riddle (which is wont to create no small dispute amongst pilgrims,) viz. that the door which was left hanging, did not touch its lintel by at least two inches; so that I believe it might easily have been lifted up and unhinged. And the doors which had been thrown down, had their hinges at the upper end twice as long as those at the bottom; which seems to intimate pretty

plainly, by what method this work was accomplished.

From these sepulchres we returned toward the city again, and just by Herod's-gate were shewn a grotto full of filthy water and mire. This passes for the dungeon in which Jeremiah was kept by Zedekiah, till enlarged by the charity of Ebed Melech, Jer. xxxviii. At this place we concluded our visits for that evening.

Monday, March 29.—The next day being Easter-Monday, the mosolem, or governor of the city set out, according to custom, with several bands of soldiers, to convey the pilgrims to Jordan. Without this guard, there is no going thither, by reason of the multitude and insolence of the Arabs in these parts. The fee to the mosolem for his company and soldiers upon this occasion, is twelve dollars for each Frank pilgrim, but if they be ecclesiastics, six; which you must pay, whether you are disposed to go the journey, or stay in the city. We went out at St. Stephen's-gate, being in all, of every nation and sex, about two thousand pilgrims. Having crossed the valley of Jehosaphat, and part of Mount Olivet, we came in half an hour to Bethany; at present only a small village. At the first entrance into it, is an old ruin, which they call Lazarus's castle, supposed to have been the mansion-house of that favourite of our Lord. At the bottom of a small descent, not far from the castle, is shewn the se-

pulchre out of which he was raised to a second mortality, by that enlivening voice of Christ, *Lazarus, come forth!* You descend into the sepulchre by twenty-five steep stairs; at the bottom of which, you arrive first in a small square room, and from thence you creep down into another lesser room about a yard and a half deeper, in which the body is said to have been laid. This place is held in great veneration by the Turks, who use it for an oratory, and demand of all Christians a small caphar for their admission into it.

About a bow-shot from hence you pass by the place which, they say, was Mary Magdalen's habitation; and then descending a steep hill, you come to the Fountain of the Apostles; so called because, as the tradition goes, those holy persons were wont to refresh themselves here, in their frequent travels between Jerusalem and Jericho. And, indeed, it is a thing very probable, and no more than I believe is done by all that travel this way; the fountain being close by the road side, and very inviting to the thirsty passenger.

From this place you proceed in an intricate way amongst hills and vallies interchangeably; all of a very barren aspect at present, but discovering evident signs of the labour of the husbandman in ancient times. After some hours travel in this sort of road, you arrive at the mountainous desert into which our blessed Saviour was led by the Spirit, to be tempted by the devil. A most miserable dry barren place it is, consisting of high rocky mountains, so torn and disordered, as if

the earth had here suffered some great convulsion, in which its very bowels had been turned outward. On the left hand looking down in a deep valley, as we passed along, we saw some ruins of small cells and cottages; which they told us were formerly the habitations of hermits retiring hither for penance and mortification. And certainly there could not be found in the whole earth a more comfortless and abandoned place, for that purpose. From the top of these hills of desolation, we had, however, a delightful prospect of the mountains of Arabia, the Dead Sea, and the plain of Jericho; into which last place we descended, after about five hours march from Jerusalem. As soon as we entered the plain, we turned up on the left hand, and going about one hour that way, came to the foot of the Quarantania; which, they say, is the mountain into which the Devil took our blessed Saviour, when he tempted him with that visionary scene of all the kingdoms and glories of the world. It is, as St. Matthew styles it, an exceeding high mountain, and in its ascent not only difficult, but dangerous. It has a small chapel at the top, and another about half way up, founded upon a prominent part of the rock: near this latter are several caves and holes in the side of the mountain, made use of anciently by hermits, and by some at this day, for places to keep their Lent in; in imitation of that of our blessed Saviour. In most of these grots we found certain Arabs quartered, with fire-arms, who obstructed our ascent, demanding two hundred dol-

lars for leave to go up the mountains. So we departed without farther trouble, not a little glad to have so good an excuse for not climbing so dangerous a precipice.

Turning down from hence into the plain, we passed by a ruined aqueduct, and a convent in the same condition: and in about a mile's riding, came to the fountain of Elisha; so called, because miraculously purged from its brackishness, by that prophet, at the request of the men of Jericho, 2 Kings, ii. 19. Its waters are at present received in a basin, about nine or ten paces long, and five or six broad; and from thence issuing out in good plenty, divide themselves in several small streams, dispersing their refreshment to all the field between this and Jericho, and rendering it exceeding fruitful. Close by the fountain, grows a large tree, spreading into boughs over the water, and here in the shade we took a collation, with the father guardian, and about thirty or forty friars more, who went this journey with us.

At about one third of an hour's distance from hence is Jericho, at present only a poor nasty village of the Arabs. We were here carried to see a place where Zaccheus's house is said to have stood; which is only an old square stone building, on the south side of Jericho. About two furlongs from hence, the mosolem, with his people, had encamped; and not far from them we took up our quarters this night.

Tuesday, March 30.—The next morning we

set out very early for Jordan, where we arrived in two hours. We found the plain very barren as we passed along it, producing nothing but a kind of samphire, and other such marine plants. I observed in many places of the road, where puddles of water had stood, a whiteness upon the surface of the ground; which, upon trial, I found to be a crust of salt, caused by the water to rise out of the earth, in the same manner as it does every year in the valley of Salt, near Aleppo, after the winter's inundation. These saline efflorescencies I found at some leagues distance from the Dead Sea; which demonstrates, that the whole valley must be all over plentifully impregnated with that mineral.

Within about a furlong of the river, at that place where we visited it, there was an old ruined church and convent; dedicated to St. John in memory of the baptizing of our blessed Lord. It is founded as near as could be conjectured to the very place where he had the honour to perform that sacred office, and to wash Him who was infinitely purer than the water itself. On the farther side of the forementioned convent, there runs along a small descent, which you may fitly call the first and outermost bank of Jordan; as far as which it may be supposed the river does, or at least did anciently overflow, at some seasons of the year, viz. at the time of harvest, Josh. iii. 15. or as it is expressed, Chron. xii. 15, in the first month, that is, in March. But at present (whether it be because the river has, by its rapidity of current,

worn its channel deeper than it was formerly, or whether because its waters are diverted some other way) it seems to have forgot its ancient greatness: for we could discern no sign or probability of such overflowings, when we were there, which was the thirtieth of March, being the proper time for these inundations. Nay, so far was the river from overflowing, that it ran at least two yards below the brink of its channel.

After having descended the outermost bank, you go about a furlong upon a level strand, before you come to the immediate bank of the river. This second bank is so beset with bushes and trees, such as tamarisk, willows, oleanders, &c. that you can see no water till you have made your way through them. In this thicket anciently (and the same is reported of it at this day) several sorts of wild beasts were wont to harbour themselves; whose being washed out of the covert by the overflowings of the river, gave occasion to that allusion, Jer. xlix. 19. and l. 44. *He shall come up like a lion from the swelling of Jordan.*

No sooner were we arrived at the river, and dismounted, in order to satisfy that curiosity and devotion, which brought us thither, but we were alarmed by some troops of Arabs appearing on the other side, and firing at us; but at too great a distance to do any execution. This intervening disturbance hindered the friars from performing their service prescribed for this place; and seemed to put them in a terrible fear of their lives, beyond what appeared in the rest of the company:

though considering the sordidness of their present condition, and the extraordinary rewards, which they boast to be their due in the world to come, one would think in reason, they of all men should have the least cause to discover so great a fear of death, and so much fondness of a life like theirs.

But this alarm was soon over, and every one returned to his former purpose: some stripped and bathed themselves in the river; others cut down boughs from the trees; every man was employed one way or other, to take a memorial of this famous stream. The water was very turbid, and too rapid to be swam against. For its breadth, it might be about twenty yards over; and in depth, it far exceeded my height. On the other side, there seemed to be a much larger thicket than on that where we were: but we durst not swim over, to take any certain account of that region, for fear of the Arabs; there being three guns fired just over against us, and (as we might guess by their reports) very near the river.

Having finished our design here, we were summoned to return by the mosolem; who carried us back into the middle of the plain, and there sitting under his tent, made us pass before him, man by man, to the end he might take the more exact account of us, and lose nothing of his caphar. We seemed at this place to be near the Dead Sea, and some of us had a great desire to go nearer, and take a view of those prodigious waters. But this could not be attempted, without the licence of our

commander in chief. We, therefore, sent to request his permission for our going, and a guard to attend us; both which he readily granted, and we immediately prosecuted our purpose.

Coming within about half an hour of the sea, we found the ground uneven, and varied into hillocks, much resembling those places in England where there have been, anciently lime-kilns. Whether these might be the pits at which the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah were overthrown by the four kings, Gen. xiv. 10, I will not determine.

Coming near the sea, we passed through a kind of coppice, of bushes and reeds; in the midst of which our guide, who was an Arab, shewed us a fountain of fresh water, rising not above a furlong from the sea: fresh water he called it, but we found it brackish.

The Dead Sea is enclosed on the east and west with exceeding high mountains; on the north it is bounded with the plain of Jericho, on which side also it receives the waters of Jordan; on the south it is open, and extends beyond the reach of the eye. It is said to be twenty-four leagues long, and six or seven broad.

On the shore of the lake we found a black sort of pebbles, which being held in the flame of a candle soon burns, and yields a smoke of an intolerable stench. It has this property, that it loses only of its weight, but not of its bulk by burning.

The hills bordering upon the lake, are said to abound with this sort of sulphureous stones. I saw pieces of it, at the convent of St. John in the

Wilderness, two feet square. They were carved in basso relievo, and polished to as great a lustre as black marble is capable of, and were designed for the ornament of the new church at the convent.

It is a common tradition, that birds, attempting to fly over this sea, drop down dead into it; and that no fish, nor other sort of animal can endure these deadly waters. The former report I saw actually confuted by several birds flying about and over the sea, without any visible harm: the latter also I have some reason to suspect as false, having observed amongst the pebbles on the shore, two or three shells of fish resembling oyster-shells. These were cast up by the waves, at two hours distance from the mouth of Jordan: which I mention, lest it should be suspected that they might be brought into the sea that way.

As for the bitumen, for which the sea had been so famous, there was none at the place where we were. But it is gathered near the mountains on both sides in great plenty. I had several lumps of it brought me to Jerusalem. It exactly resembles pitch, and cannot readily be distinguished from it, but by the sulphureousness of its smell and taste.

The water of the lake was very limpid, and salt to the highest degree; and not only salt, but also extreme bitter and nauseous. Being willing to make an experiment of its strength, I went into it, and found it bore up my body in swimming with an uncommon force. But as for that relation of some authors, that men wading into it

were buoyed up to the top, as soon as they go as deep as the navel: I found it, upon experiment, not true.

Being desirous to see the remains (if there were any) of those cities anciently situate in this place, and made so dreadful an example of the divine vengeance, I diligently surveyed the waters, as far as my eye could reach: but neither could I discern any heaps of ruins, nor any smoke ascending above the surface of the water; as is usually described in the writings and maps of geographers. But yet I must not omit what was confidently attested to me by the father guardian, and procurator of Jerusalem; both men in years, and seemingly not destitute either of sense or probity, viz. that they had once actually seen one of these ruins; that it was so near the shore, and the waters so shallow, at that time, that they together with some Frenchmen went to it, and found there several pillars, and other fragments of buildings. The cause of our being deprived of this sight was, I suppose, the height of the water.

On the west side of the sea is a small promontory, near which, as our guides told us, stood the monument of Lot's metamorphosed wife; part of which (if they may be credited) is visible at this day. But neither would the present occasion permit us to go and examine the truth of this relation; neither, had the opportunity served, could we give faith enough to their report, to induce us to go on such an errand.

As for the apples of Sodom, so much talked of,

I neither saw, nor heard of any hereabouts: nor was there any tree to be seen near the lake, from which one might expect such a kind of fruit;* which induces me to believe that there may be a greater deceit in this fruit, than that which is usually reported of it; and that its very being, as well as its beauty is a fiction, only kept up, as my lord Bacon observes many other false notions are, because it serves for a good allusion, and helps the poets to a similitude.

In our return from the Dead Sea, at about one hour's distance from it, we came to an old ruined Greek convent. There was good part of the church remaining, with several pieces of painting entire; as the figures of several Greek saints, and over the altar the representation of our Lord's last supper, with this text of holy writ fairly inscribed, Λάβετε φάγετε, &c. Hereabout, and also in many other places of the plain, I perceived a strong scent of honey and wax, (the sun being very hot;) and the bees were very industrious about the blossoms of that salt weed which the plain produces. In about one hour and a half more we returned to our tents and company, at the same place where we slept the night before; and there we spent this night also.

Amongst the products of this place, I saw a very remarkable fruit called by the Arabs za-cho-ne. It grows upon a thorny bush, with small leaves; and both in shape and colour resembles a

* Tacit. Hist. lib. 5. Joseph. Bell. lib. 5, cap. 5.

small unripe wallnut. The kernel of this fruit the Arabs bray in a mortar; and then putting the pulp into scalding water, they skim off an oil, which rises to the top. This oil they take inwardly for bruises, and apply it outwardly to green wounds, preferring it before balm of Gilead. I procured a bottle of it, and have found it, upon some small trials, a very healing medicine. The roses of Jericho were not to be found at this season.

Wednesday, March 31.—This morning we all decamped at half an hour after two, and returning the same way by which we came, arrived in about six hours near the walls of Jesusalem. Our company did not think fit to enter the city, resolving to go immediately for Bethlehem. In order to which, we turned down into the valley of Jehosaphat; and so passing by the city, instantly took the road to the place intended.

From Jerusalem to Bethlehem, is but two hours travel. The country through which the road lies, is the valley of Rephaim; as may be gathered from Jos. Ant. lib. 4, cap. 10. A valley so famous for being the theatre of David's victories against the Philistines, 2 Sam. v. 23. In the road you meet with these following remarkable places. First, a place said to be the house of Simeon, that venerable old prophet, who, taking our blessed Saviour in his arms, sung his *nunc dimittis* in the temple. Secondly, the famous turpentine tree, in the shade of which the blessed

Virgin is said to have reposed, when she was carrying Christ in her arms, to present him to the Lord at Jerusalem. Thirdly, a convent dedicated to St. Elias, the impress of whose body, the Greek monks residing here pretend to shew in a hard stone, which was wont to serve him for his bed. Near this convent also is a well, where you are told it was that the star appeared to the eastern magi, to their exceeding joy. Fourthly, Rachel's tomb; this may probably be the true place of her interment, mentioned Gen. xxxv. 19. But the present sepulchral monument can be none of that which Jacob erected; for it appears plainly to be a modern and Turkish structure. Near this monument is a little piece of ground, in which are picked up a little sort of small round stones, exactly resembling pease; concerning which they have a tradition here, that they were once truly what they now seem to be; but that the blessed Virgin petrified them by a miracle, in punishment to a surly rustic, who denied her the charity of a handful of them to relieve her hunger.

Being arrived at Bethlehem, we immediately made a circular visit to all the holy places belonging to it: as namely, the place where it is said our blessed Lord was born; the manger in which it is said he was laid; the chapel of St. Joseph, his supposed father; that of the Innocents; those of St. Jerom, of St. Paula and Eustochium, and of Eusebius of Cremona; and lastly, the school of St. Jerom. All which places it shall suffice just to name.

From the top of the church, we had a large prospect of the adjacent country. The most remarkable places in view were Tekoah, situate on the side of a hill, about nine miles distant to the southward; Engedi, distant about three miles eastward; and somewhat farther off, the same way, a high sharp hill, called the Mountain of the Franks, because defended by a party of the crusaders forty years after the loss of Jerusalem.

Thursday, April 1.—This morning we went to see some remarkable places in the neighbourhood of Bethlehem. The first place that we directed our course to, was those famous fountains, pools, and gardens, about one hour and a quarter distant from Bethlehem southward, said to have been the contrivance and delight of king Solomon. To these works and places of pleasure that great prince is supposed to allude, Eccl. ii. 5, 6. where amongst the other instances of his magnificence, he reckons up his gardens, and vineyards, and pools.

As for the pools, they are three in number, lying in a row above each other; being so disposed, that the waters of the uppermost may descend into the second, and those of the second into the third. Their figure is quadrangular; the breadth is the same in all, amounting to about ninety paces; in their length there is some difference between them; the first being about one hundred and sixty paces long, the second two hundred, the third two hundred and twenty. They

all are lined with wall, and plastered, and contain a great depth of water.

Close by the pools is a pleasant castle of a modern structure; and at about the distance of one hundred and forty paces from them, is the fountain from which principally they derive their waters. This the friars will have to be that sealed fountain, to which the holy spouse is compared, Can. iv. 12. And, in confirmation of this opinion, they pretend a tradition, that king Solomon shut up these springs, and kept the door of them sealed with his signet; to the end that he might preserve the waters for his drinking, in their natural freshness and purity. Nor was it difficult thus to secure them, they rising under ground, and having no avenue to them but by a little hole like to the mouth of a narrow well. Through this hole you descend directly down, but not without some difficulty, for about four yards; and then arrive in a vaulted room, fifteen paces long, and eight broad. Joining to this, is another room of the same fashion, but somewhat less. Both these rooms are covered with handsome stone arches, very ancient, and perhaps the work of Solomon himself.

You find here four places at which the water rises: from those separate sources it is conveyed, by little rivulets, into a kind of basin, and from thence is carried by a large subterraneous passage down into the pools. In the way, before it arrives at the pools, there is an aqueduct of brick pipes, which receives part of the stream, and car-

ries it by many turnings and windings, about the mountains, to Jerusalem.

Below the pools here runs down a narrow rocky valley, enclosed on both sides with high mountains. This the friars will have to be the enclosed garden, alluded to in the same place of the Canticles before cited. *A garden enclosed is my sister, my spouse: a spring shut up, a fountain sealed.* What truth there may be in this conjecture, I cannot absolutely pronounce. As to the pools, it is probable enough, they may be the same with Solomon's; there not being the like store of excellent spring-water, to be met with any where else, throughout all Palestine. But for the gardens one may safely affirm, that if Solomon made them, in the rocky ground which is now assigned for them, he demonstrated greater power and wealth in finishing his design, than he did wisdom in choosing the place for it.

From these memorials of Solomon, we returned toward Bethlehem again, in order to visit some places nearer home. The places we saw were, the field where it is said the shepherds were watching their flocks, when they received the glad tidings of the birth of Christ; and not far from the field, the village where they dwelt; and a little on the right hand of the village, an old desolate nunnery, built by St. Paula, and made the more memorable by her dying in it. These places are all within about half a mile of the convent, eastward; and with these we finished this morning's work.

Having seen what is usually visited on the south and east of Bethlehem, we walked out after dinner to the westward, to see what was remarkable on that side. The first place we were guided to was the Well of David, so called because held to be the same that David so passionately thirsted after, 2 Sam. xxiii. 15. It is a well (or rather a cistern) supplied only with rain, without any natural excellency in its waters to make them desirable: but it seems David's spirit had a farther aim.

About two furlongs beyond this well, are to be seen some remains of an old aqueduct, which anciently conveyed the waters from Solomon's pools to Jerusalem. This is said to be the genuine work of Solomon; and may well be allowed to be in reality, what it is pretended for. It is carried all along upon the surface of the ground, and is composed of stones —— foot square, and —— thick, perforated with a cavity of —— inches diameter, to make the channel. These stones are let into each other, with a fillet framed round about the cavity, to prevent leakage; and united to each other with so firm a cement, that they will, sometimes, sooner break (though a kind of coarse marble) than endure a separation. This train of stones were covered, for its greater security, with a case of smaller stones, laid over it in a very strong mortar. The whole work seems to be endued with such absolute firmness, as if it had been designed for eternity. But the Turks have demonstrated in this instance, that nothing can be

so well wrought, but they are able to destroy it. For of this strong aqueduct, which was carried formerly five or six leagues, with so vast expence and labour, you see now only here and there a fragment remaining.

Returning from this place, we went to see the Greek and Armenian convents; which are contiguous to that of the Latins, and have each their several doors opening into the chapel of the Holy Manger. The next place we went to see was the grot of the blessed Virgin. It is within thirty or forty yards of the convent; and is reverenced upon the account of a tradition, that the blessed Virgin here hid herself and her divine Babe from the fury of Herod, for some time before their departure into Egypt. The grot is hollowed into a chalky rock: but this whiteness they will have to be not natural, but to have been occasioned by some miraculous drops of the blessed Virgin's milk, which fell from her breast while she was suckling the Holy Infant. And so much are they possessed with this opinion, that they believe the chalk of this grotto has a miraculous virtue for increasing women's milk. And I was assured from many hands, that it is very frequently taken by the women hereabouts, as well Turks and Arabs, as Christians, for that purpose, and that with very good effect; which perhaps may be true enough, it being well known how much fancy is wont to do in things of this nature.

Friday, April 2.—The next morning, present-

ing the guardian with two chequeens a piece for his civilities to us, we took our leave of Bethlehem, designing just to go visit the Wilderness and convent of St. John Baptist, and so return to Jerusalem.

In this stage we first crossed part of that famous valley, in which it is said that the Angel in one night did such prodigious execution, in the army of Sennacherib. Having travelled about half an hour, we came to a village called Booteshellah; concerning which, they relate this remarkable property, that no Turk can live in it above two years. By virtue of this report, whether true or false, the Christians keep the village to themselves without molestation; no Turk being willing to stake his life in experimenting the truth of it. In somewhat less than an hour more, we came to the fountain, where they told us, but falsely, that Philip baptized the Æthiopian eunuch. The passage here is so rocky and uneven, that pilgrims finding how difficult the road is for a single horseman, are ready to think it impossible that a chariot (such as the eunuch rode in, Acts viii. 28.) should ever have been able to go this way. But it must not be judged what the road was in ancient times, by what the negligence of the Turks has now reduced it to: for I observed not far from the fountain, a place where the rock had been cut away in old time, in order to lay open a good road; by which it may be supposed, that the same care was used all along this passage, though now time and negligence

have obliterated both the fruit and almost the signs of such labour.

A little beyond this fountain, we came to that which they call the village of St. Philip; at which ascending a very steep hill, we arrived at the Wilderness of St. John: a wilderness it is called, as being very rocky and mountainous; but is well cultivated, and produces plenty of corn, and vines, and olive trees. After a good hour's travel in this wilderness, we came to the cave and fountain, where, as they say, the Baptist exercised those severe austerities related of him, Matt. iii. 4. Near this cell there still grows some old locust trees, the monuments of the ignorance of the middle times. These the friars aver to be the very same that yielded sustenance to the Baptist; and the popish pilgrims, who dare not be wiser than such blind guides, gather the fruit of them, and carry it away with great devotion.

Having done with this place, we directed our course toward the convent of St. John, which is about a league distant eastward. In our way we passed along one side of the valley of Elah, where David slew the giant, that defier of the army of Israel, 1 Sam. xvii. We had, likewise, in sight, Modon, a village on the top of a high hill, the burying-place of those heroical defenders of their country, the Maccabees.

Being come near the convent, we were led a little out of the way, to visit a place, which they call the house of Elisabeth, the mother of the Bap-

tist. This was formerly a convent also; but it is now a heap of ruins, and the only remarkable place left in it is a grotto, in which (you are told) it was, that the blessed Virgin saluted Elisabeth, and pronounced her divine Magnificat, Luke i. 46.

The present convent of St. John, which is now inhabited, stands at about three furlongs distance from this house of Elisabeth; and is supposed to be built at the place where St. John was born. If you chance to ask, how it came to pass, that Elisabeth lived in one house, when she was big with the Baptist, and in another when she brought him forth? The answer you are like to receive, is, that the former was her country, the latter her city habitation; and that it is no wonder for a wife of one of the priests of better rank (such as she was, Luke i. 6.) to be provided with such variety.

The convent of St. John has been, within these four years, rebuilt from the ground. It is at present, a large square building, uniform and neat all over; but that which is most eminently beautiful in it is, its church. It consists of three aisles, and has in the middle a handsome cupola, under which is a pavement of Mosaic, equal to, if not exceeding the finest works of the ancients in that kind. At the upper end of the north aisle, you go down seven marble steps, to a very splendid altar, erected over the very place where they say the holy Baptist was born. Here are artificers still employed in adding farther beauty and ornament to this convent; and yet it has been so expensive

a work already, that the friars themselves give out, that there is not a stone laid in it but has cost them a dollar; which, considering the large sums exacted by the Turks for licence to begin fabrics of this nature, and also their perpetual extortion and avarrias afterwards, besides the necessary charge of building, may be allowed to pass for no extravagant hyperbole.

Returning from St. John's toward Jerusalem, we came, in about three quarters of an hour to a convent of the Greeks, taking its name from the holy cross. This convent is very neat in its structure, and in its situation delightful. But that which most deserves to be noted in it is, the reason of its name and foundation. It is because here is the earth, that nourished the root, that bore the tree, that yielded the timber that made the cross. Under the high altar you are shewn a hole in the ground, where the stump of the tree stood, and it meets with not a few visitants so much verier stocks than itself, as to fall down and worship it. This convent is not above half an hour from Jerusalem; to which place we returned this evening, being the fifth day since our departure thence.

After our return, we were invited into the convent, to have our feet washed; a ceremony performed to each pilgrim by the father guardian himself. The whole society stands round, singing some Latin hymns, all the while the father guardian is doing his office: and when he has done, every friar comes in order, and kisses the

fect of the pilgrim. All this was performed with great order and solemnity; and if it served either to testify a sincere humility and charity in them, or to improve those excellent graces in others, it might pass for no unuseful ceremony.

Saturday, April 3.—We went about midday to see the function of the *holy fire*. This is a ceremony kept up by the Greeks and Armenians, upon a persuasion, that every Easter eve there is a miraculous flame descends from heaven into the Holy Sepulchre, and kindles all the lamps and candles there, as the sacrifice was burnt at the prayers of Elijah, 1 Kings xviii.

Coming to the church of the Holy Sepulchre, we found it crowded with a numerous and distracted mob, making a hideous clamour very unfit for that sacred place, and better becoming bacchanals than Christians. Getting with some struggle through this crowd, we went up into the gallery on that side of the church next the Latin convent, whence we could discern all that passed in this religious frenzy.

They began their disorders by running round the Holy Sepulchre with all their might and swiftness, crying out as they went, *Huia!* which signifies *this is he*, or *this is it;* an expression by which they assert the verity of the Christian religion. After they had by these vertiginous circulations and clamours turned their heads, and inflamed their madness, they began to act the most antic tricks and postures, in a thousand shapes of

distraction. Sometimes they dragged one another along the floor all round the sepulchre; sometimes they set one man upright on another's shoulders, and in this posture marched round; sometimes they took men with their heels upward, and hurried them about in such an indecent manner, as to expose their nudities; sometimes they tumbled round the sepulchre, after the manner of tumblers on the stage. In a word, nothing can be imagined more rude or extravagant, than what was acted upon this occasion.

In this tumultuous frantic humour, they continued from twelve until four of the clock: the reason of which delay was, because of a suit that was then in debate before the cadi, betwixt the Greeks and Armenians; the former endeavouring to exclude the latter from having any share in this miracle. Both parties having expended (as I was informed) five thousand dollars between them in this foolish controversy; the cadi at last gave sentence, that they should enter the holy sepulchre together, as had been usual at former times. Sentence being thus given, at four of the clock both nations went on with their ceremony. The Greeks first set out, in a procession round the Holy Sepulchre, and immediately at their heels followed the Armenians. In this order they compassed the Holy Sepulchre thrice, having produced all their gallantry of standards, streamers, crucifixes and embroidered habits upon this occasion.

Toward the end of this procession, there was a pigeon came fluttering into the cupola over the

sepulchre; at sight of which, there was a greater shout and clamour than before. This bird, the Latins told us, was purposely let fly by the Greeks, to deceive the people into an opinion that it was a visible descent of the Holy Ghost.

The procession being over, the suffragan of the Greek patriarch (he being himself at Constantinople,) and the principal Armenian bishop approached to the door of the sepulchre, and cutting the string with which it was fastened and sealed, entered in, shutting the door after them; all the candles and lamps within having been before extinguished, in the presence of the Turks and other witnesses. The exclamations were doubled, as the miracle drew nearer its accomplishment; and the people pressed with such vehemence towards the door of the sepulchre, that it was not in the power of the Turks, set to guard it, with the severest drubs to keep them off. The cause of their pressing in this manner, is the great desire they have to light their candles at the holy flame, as soon as it is first brought out of the sepulchre; it being esteemed the most sacred and pure, as coming immediately from heaven.

The two miracle-mongers had not been above a minute in the holy sepulchre, when the glimmering of the holy fire was seen, or imagined to appear, through some chinks of the door; and certainly Bedlam itself never saw such an unruly transport, as was produced in the mob at this sight.

Immediately after, out came the two priests with blazing torches in their hands, which they

held up at the door of the sepulchre, while the people thronged about with inexpressible ardour; every one striving to obtain a part of the first and purest flame. The Turks in the mean time, with huge clubs, laid them on without mercy; but all this could not repel them, the excess of their transport making them insensible of pain. Those that got the fire applied it immediately to their beards, faces, and bosoms, pretending that it would not burn like an earthly flame; but I plainly saw, none of them could endure this experiment long enough to make good that pretension.

So many hands being employed, you may be sure it could not be long before innumerable tapers were lighted. The whole church, galleries, and every place seemed instantly to be in a flame: and with this illumination the ceremony ended.

It must be owned that those two within the sepulchre, performed their part with great quickness and dexterity: but the behaviour of the rabble without, very much discredited the miracle. The Latins take a great deal of pains to expose this ceremony, as a most shameful imposture, and a scandal to the Christian religion; perhaps out of envy, that others should be masters of so gainful a business; but the Greeks and Armenians pin their faith upon it, and make their pilgrimages chiefly upon this motive: and it is the deplorable unhappiness of their priests, that having acted the cheat so long already, they are forced now to stand to it, for fear of endangering the apostacy of their people.

Going out of the church, after the rout was over, we saw several people gathered about the stone of unction, who having got a good store of candles, lighted with the holy fire, were employed in daubing pieces of linen with the wicks of them and the melting wax: which pieces of linen were designed for winding-sheets: and it is the opinion of these poor people, that if they can but have the happiness to be buried in a shroud smutted with this celestial fire, it will certainly secure them from the flames of hell.

Sunday, April 4.—This day being our Easter, we did not go abroad to visit any places, the time requiring an employment of another nature.

Monday, April 5.—This morning we went to see some more of the curiosities which had been yet unvisited by us. The first place we came to was that which they call St. Peter's prison, from which he was delivered by the Angel, Acts xii. It is close by the church of the Holy Sepulchre, and still serves for its primitive use. About the space of a furlong from thence, we came to an old church held to have been built by Helena, in the place where stood the house of Zebedee. This is in the hands of the Greeks, who tell you, that Zebedee being a fisherman was wont to bring fish from Joppa hither, and to vend it at this place. Not far from hence we came to the place where, they say, stood anciently the iron gate, which opened to Peter of its own accord. A few

steps farther, is the small church built over the house of Mark, to which the Apostle directed his course, after his miraculous gaol-delivery. The Syrians (who have this place in their custody) pretend to shew you the very window at which Rhoda looked out, while Peter knocked at the door. In the church they shew a Syriac manuscript of the New Testament in folio, pretended to be eight hundred and fifty-two years old; and a little stone font used by the Apostles themselves in baptizing. About one hundred and fifty paces farther in the same street, is that which they call the house of St. Thomas, converted formerly into a church, but now a mosque. Not many paces farther, is another street crossing the former, which leads you on the right hand to the place, where they say our Lord appeared, after his resurrection, to the three Marys, Matth. xxviii. 9. Three Marys the friars tell you, though in that place of St. Matthew mention is made but of two. The same street carries you on the left hand to the Armenian convent. The Armenians have here a very large and delightful space of ground; their convent and gardens taking up all that part of Mount Sion, which is within the walls of the city. Their church is built over the place where, they say, St. James the brother of John was beheaded, Acts xii. 2. In a small chapel on the north side of the church, is shewn the very place of his decollation. In this church are two altars set out with extraordinary splendour, being decked with rich mitres, embroidered copes, crosses both silver and

gold, crowns, chalices, and other church utensils without number. In the middle of the church is a pulpit made of tortoiseshell, and mother of pearl, with a beautiful canopy, or cupola over it, of the same fabric. The tortoiseshell and mother of pearl are so exquisitely mingled and inlaid in each other, that the work far exceeds the materials. In a kind of anti-chapel to this church, there are laid up on one side of an altar, three large rough stones, esteemed very precious; as being, one of them, the stone upon which Moses cast the two tables, when he broke them, in indignation, at the idolatry of the Israelites; the other two being brought, one from the place of our Lord's baptism, the other from that of his transfiguration.

Leaving this convent, we went a little farther to another small church, which was likewise in the hands of the Armenians. This is supposed to be founded in the place where Annas's house stood. Within the church, not far from the door, is shewn a hole in the wall, denoting the place where one of the officers of the high-priest smote our blessed Saviour, John xviii. 22. The officer, by whose impious hand that buffet was given, the friars will have to be the same Malchus, whose ear our Lord had healed. In the court before this chapel is an olive tree, of which it is reported, that Christ was chained to it for some time by order of Annas, to secure him from escaping.

From the house of Annas we were conducted out of Sion gate, which is nearer adjoining to that

which they call the house of Cajaphas, where is another small chapel belonging also to the Armenians. Here, under the altar, they tell us, is deposited that very stone, which was laid to secure the door of our Saviour's sepulchre, Matt. xxvii. 60. It was a long time kept in the church of the Sepulchre; but the Armenians, not many years since, stole it from thence by a stratagem, and conveyed it to this place. The stone is two yards and a quarter long, high, one yard, and broad, as much. It is plastered all over, except in five or six little places, where it is left bare to receive the immediate kisses and other devotions of pilgrims. Here is likewise shewn a little cell, said to have been our Lord's prison, till the morning when he was carred from hence before Pilate; and also the place where Peter was frighted into a denial of his Master.

A little farther without the gate, is the church of the Cœnaculum, where they say Christ instituted his last supper. It is now a mosque, and not to be seen by Christians. Near this is a well, which is said to mark out the place at which the Apostles divided from each other, in order to go every man to his several charge; and, close by the well are the ruins of a house in which the blessed Virgin is supposed to have breathed her last. Going eastward a little way down the hill, we were shewn the place where a Jew arrested the corpse of the blessed Virgin, as she was carried to her interment; for which impious presumption, he had his hand withered wherewith he had seized

the bier. About as much lower in the middle of the hill, they shew you the grot, in which St. Peter wept so bitterly for his inconstancy to his Lord.

We extended our circuit no farther at this time; but entered the city again at Sion gate. Turning down as soon as we had entered, on the right hand, and going about two furlongs close by the city wall, we were had into a garden, lying at the foot of Mount Moriah, on the south side. Here we were shewn several large vaults, annexed to the mountain on this side, and running at least fifty yards under ground. They were built in two aisles, arched at top with huge firm stone, and sustained with tall pillars consisting each of one single stone, and two yards in diameter. This might possibly be some under-ground work made to enlarge the area of the Temple: for Josephus seems to describe some such work as this, erected over the valley on this side of the Temple, Ant. Jud. lib. 15, cap. ult.

From these vaults, we returned towards the convent. In our way, we passed through the Turkish bazars, and took a view of the *beautiful gate* of the Temple. But we could but just view it in passing, it not being safe to stay here long, by reason of the superstition of the Turks.

Tuesday, April 6.—The next morning we took another progress about the city. We made our exit at Bethlehem gate, and turning down on the left hand under the castle of the Pisans, came in

about a furlong and a half to that which they call Bathsheba's pool. It lies at the bottom of Mount Sion, and is supposed to be the same in which Bathsheba was washing herself, when David spied her from the terrace of his palace. But others refer this accident to another lesser pool in a garden, just within Bethlehem gate; and perhaps, both opinions are equally in the right.

A little below this pool, begins the valley of Hinnom; on the west side of which is the place called anciently, the *Potter's Field*, and afterwards the *Field of Blood*, from its being purchased with the pieces of silver which were the price of the blood of Christ; but at present, from that veneration which it has obtained amongst Christians, it is called *Campo Sancto*. It is a small plat of ground, not above thirty yards long, and about half as much broad. One moiety of it is taken up by a square fabric twelve yards high, built for a charnel house. The corpses are let down into it from the top, there being five holes left open for that purpose. Looking down through these holes, we could see many bodies under several degrees of decay; from which it may be conjectured, that this grave does not make that quick dispatch with the corpses committed to it, which is commonly reported. The Armenians have the command of this burying-place, for which they pay the Turks a rent of one zequin a day. The earth is of a chalky substance hereabouts.

A little below the Campo Sancto, is shewn an intricate cave or sepulchre, consisting of several

rooms one within another, in which the Apostles are said to have hid themselves, when they forsook their Master, and fled. The entrance of the cave discovers signs of its having been adorned with painting in ancient times.

A little farther the valley of Hinnom terminates, that of Jehosaphat running cross the mouth of it. Along the bottom of this latter valley, runs the brook Cedron; a brook in winter time, but without the least drop of water in it all the time we were at Jerusalem.

In the valley of Jehosaphat, the first thing you are carried to, is the well of Nehemiah; so called, because reputed to be the same place from which that restorer of Israel recovered the fire of the altar, after the Babylonish captivity, 2 Macc. i. 19. A little higher in the valley, on the left hand, you come to a tree, supposed to mark out the place where the *evangelical prophet* was sawn asunder. About one hundred paces higher, on the same side, is the pool of Siloam. It was anciently dignified with a church built over it: but when we were there, a tanner made no scruple to dress his hides in it. Going about a furlong farther on the same side, you come to the fountain of the blessed Virgin, so called because she was wont (as is reported) to resort hither for water; but at what time, and upon what occasions, it is not yet agreed. Over against this fountain on the other side of the valley, is a village called Siloe, in which Solomon is said to have kept his strange wives; and above the village is a hill

called the *Mountain of Offence*, because there Solomon built the high places mentioned, 1 Kings, xi. 7. his wives having perverted his wise heart, to follow their idolatrous abominations in his declining years. On the same side, and not far distant from Siloe, they shew another *Aceldama*, or *Field of Blood;* so called, because there it was that Judas, by the just judgment of God, met with his compounded death, Matt. xxvii. 5. Acts i. 18, 19. A little farther on the same side of the valley, they shewed us several Jewish monuments. Amongst the rest there are two noble antiquities, which they call, the Sepulchre of Zachary, and the Pillar of Absalom. Close by the latter, is the Sepulchre of Jehosaphat, from which the whole valley takes its name.

Upon the edge of the hill, on the opposite side of the valley, there runs along, in a direct line, the wall of the city. Near the corner of which, there is a short end of a pillar, jetting out of the wall. Upon this pillar the Turks have a tradition, that Mahomet shall sit in judgment at the last day; and that all the world shall be gathered together in the valley below, to receive their doom from his mouth. A little farther northward, is the gate of the Temple. It is at present walled up, because the Turks here have a prophecy, that their destruction shall enter at that gate; the completion of which prediction they endeavour by this means to prevent. Below this gate, in the bottom of the valley, is a broad hard stone, discovering several impressions upon it, which you may fancy to be

footsteps. These the friars tell you are prints made by our blessed Saviour's feet, when after his apprehension, he was hurried violently away to the tribunal of his blood-thirsty persecutors.

From hence, keeping still in the bottom of the valley, you come in a few paces to a place, which they call the Sepulchre of the blessed Virgin. It has a magnificent descent down into it of forty-seven stairs: on the right hand, as you go down, is the Sepulchre of St. Anna, the mother, and on the left, that of St. Joseph, the husband of the blessed Virgin.

Having finished our visit to this place, we went up the hill towards the city. In the side of the ascent, we were shewn a broad stone on which they say St. Stephen suffered martyrdom; and not far from it is a grot, into which they tell you the outrageous Jewish zealots cast his body, when they had satiated their fury upon him. From hence we went immediately to St. Stephen's gate, so called from its vicinity to this place of the protomartyr's suffering; and so returned to our lodging.

Wednesday, April 7.—The next morning we set out again, in order to see the sanctuaries, and other visitable places upon Mount Olivet. We went out at St. Stephen's gate, and crossing the valley of Jehosaphat, began immediately to ascend the mountains. Being got about two thirds of the way up, we came to certain grottos cut with intricate windings and caverns under ground;

these are called the Sepulchres of the Prophets. A little higher up are twelve arched vaults under ground, standing side by side; these were built in memory of the twelve Apostles, who are said to have compiled their creed in this place. Sixty paces higher you come to the place, where they say Christ uttered his prophecy concerning the final destruction of Jerusalem, Matt. xxiv. And a little on the right hand of this, is the place where they say he dictated a second time the Pater noster to his Disciples, Luke xi. 1, 2. Somewhat higher is the cave of St. Pelagia; and as much more above that, a pillar, signifying the place where an Angel gave the blessed Virgin three days warning of her death. At the top of the hill, youcome to the place of our blessed Lord's ascension. Here was anciently a large church, built in honor of that glorious triumph: but all that now remains of it is only an octagonal cupola, about eight yards in diameter, standing, as they say, over the very place where were set the last footsteps of the Son of God here on earth. Within the cupola there is seen, in a hard stone, as they tell you, the print of one of his feet. Here was also that of the other foot sometimes since; but it has been removed from hence by the Turks into the great mosque upon Mount Moriah. This chapel of the ascension the Turks have the custody of, and use it for a mosque. There are many other holy places about Jerusalem, which the Turks pretend to have a veneration for, equally with the Christians; and under that pretence they

take them into their own hands. But whether they do this out of real devotion, or for lucre's sake, and to the end that they may exact money from the Christians for admission into them, I will not determine.

About two furlongs from this place northward, is the highest part of Mount Olivet; and upon that was anciently erected an high tower, in memory of that apparition of the two Angels to the Apostles, after our blessed Lord's ascension, Acts i. 10, 11, from which the tower itself had the name given it of *Viri Galilæi!* This ancient monument remained till about two years since, when it was demolished by a Turk, who had bought the field in which it stood: but nevertheless you have still, from the natural height of the place, a large prospect of Jerusalem, and the adjacent country, and of the Dead Sea, &c.

From this place we descended the mount again by another road. At about the midway down, they shew you the place where Christ beheld the city, and wept over it, Luke xix. 41. Near the bottom of the hill is a great stone, upon which, you are told, the blessed Virgin let fall her girdle after her assumption, in order to convince St. Thomas, who, they say, was troubled with a fit of his old incredulity upon this occasion. There is still to be seen a small winding channel upon the stone, which they will have to be the impression made by the girdle when it fell, and to be left for the conviction of all such as shall suspect the truth of their story of the assumption.

About twenty yards lower they shew you Gethsemane; an even plat of ground, not above fifty-seven yards square, lying between the foot of Mount Olivet and the brook Cedron. It is well planted with olive trees, and those of so old a growth, that they are believed to be the same that stood here in our blessed Saviour's time. In virtue of which persuasion, the olives, and olive stones, and oil which they produce, became an excellent commodity in Spain. But that these trees cannot be so ancient as is pretended, is evident from what Josephus testifies, lib. 7, Bell. Jud. cap. 15, and in other places, viz. that Titus, in his siege of Jerusalem, cut down all the trees within about one hundred furlongs of Jerusalem; and that the soldiers were forced to fetch wood so far, for making their mounts, when they assaulted the temple.

At the upper corner of the garden is a flat naked ledge of rock, reputed to be the place on which the Apostles, Peter, James, and John, fell asleep during the agony of our Lord. And a few paces from hence is a grotto, said to be the place, in which Christ underwent that bitter part of his passion.

About eight paces from the place where the Apostles slept, is a small shred of ground, twelve yards long, and one broad, supposed to be the very path on which the traitor Judas walked up to Christ, saying, *Hail, Master! and kissed him.* This narrow path is separated by a wall out of the midst of the garden, as a *terra damnata;* a

work the more remarkable, as being done by the Turks, who as well as Christians, detest the very ground on which was acted such an infamous treachery.

From hence we crossed the brook Cedron, close by the reputed sepulchre of the blessed Virgin; and entering at St. Stephen's gate, returned again to the convent.

Thursday, April 8.—We went to see the palace of Pilate, I mean the place where they say it stood, for now an ordinary Turkish house possesses its room. It is not far from the gate of St. Stephen, and borders upon the area of the Temple on the north side. From the terrace of this house you have a fair prospect of all the place where the Temple stood; indeed the only good prospect, that is allowed you of it: for there is no going within the borders of it, without forfeiting your life, or, which is worse, your religion. A fitter place for an august building could not be found in the whole world than this area. It lies upon the top of Mount Moriah, over against Mount Olivet, the valley of Jehosaphat lying between both mountains. It is, as far as I could compute by walking round it without, five hundred and seventy of my paces in length, and three hundred and seventy in breadth; and one may still discern marks of the great labour that it cost, to cut away the hard rock, and to level such a spacious area upon so strong a mountain. In

the middle of the area stands at present a mosque of an octagonal figure, supposed to be built upon the same ground, where anciently stood the *Sanctum Sanctorum.* It is neither eminent for its largeness, nor its structure; and yet it makes a very stately figure, by the sole advantage of its situation.

In this pretended house of Pilate is shewn the room in which Christ was mocked with the ensigns of royalty, and buffeted by the soldiers. At the coming out of the house is a descent, where was anciently the *Scala Sancta.* On the other side of the street (which was anciently part of the palace also) is the room where they say our Lord was scourged. It was once used for a stable by the son of a certain bassa of Jerusalem: but presently upon this profanation, they say, there came such a mortality amongst his horses, as forced him to resign the place, by which means it was redeemed from that sordid use; but, nevertheless, when we were there, it was no better than a weaver's shop. In our return from Pilate's palace, we passed along the *Dolorous Way,* in which walk we were shewn in order: first, the place where Pilate brought our Lord forth to present to the people, with this mystic saying, *Behold the man!* Secondly, where Christ fainted thrice, under the weight of his cross: thirdly, where the blessed Virgin swooned away at so tragical a spectacle: fourthly, where St. Veronica presented to him the handkerchief to wipe his

bleeding brows: filthy, where the soldiers compelled Simon the Cyrenian to bear his cross. All which places I need only to name.

Friday, April 9:—We went to take a view of that which they call the Pool of Bethesda. It is one hundred and twenty paces long, and forty broad, and at least eight deep, but void of water. At its west end it discovers some old arches, now dammed up. These, some will have to be the five porches in which sat that multitude of lame, halt, and blind, John v. But the mischief is, instead of five, there are but three of them. This pool is contiguous on one side, to St. Stephen's-gate; on the other, to the area of the Temple.

From hence we went to the convent, or nunnery of St. Anne. The church here is large and entire, and so are part of the lodgings; but both are desolate and neglected. In a grotto under the church is shewn the place, where, they say, the blessed Virgin was born. Near this church they shew the pharisee's house, where Mary Magdalen exhibited those admirable evidences of a penitent affection towards our Saviour; *washing his feet with her tears, and wiping them with her hair*, Luke vii. 38. This place also has been anciently dignified with holy buildings, but they are now neglected.

This was our morning's work. In the afternoon we went to see Mount Gihon, and the pool of the same name. It lies about two furlongs without Bethlehem-gate westward. It is a stately

pool, one hundred and six paces long, and sixty-seven broad, and lined with wall and plaster; and was, when we were there, well stored with water.

Saturday, April 10.—We went to take our leaves of the holy sepulchre, this being the last time that it was to be opened this festival.

Upon this finishing day, and the night following, the Turks allow free admittance for all people, without demanding any fee for entrance as at other times; calling it a day of charity. By this promiscuous licence, they let in not only the poor, but, as I was told, the lewd and vicious also; who come hither to get convenient opportunity for prostitution, profaning the holy places in such a manner (as it is said) that they were not worse defiled even then when the heathens here celebrated their *Aphrodisia.*

Sunday, April 11.—Now began the Turks *Byram*, that is, the feast which they celebrate after their Lent, called by them *Ramadam.* This being a time of great libertinism among the rabble, we thought it prudent to confine ourselves to our lodgings for some time, to the end that we might avoid such insolences as are usual in such times of public festivity. Our confinement was the less incommodious, because there was hardly any thing, either within or about the city, which we had not already visited.

Monday, April 12, *Tuesday, April* 13.—We kept close to our quarters, but, however, not in idleness, the time being now come when we were to contrive, and provide things in order for our departure. We had a bad account, from all hands, of the country's being more and more embroiled by the Arabs; which made us somewhat unresolved what way and method to take for our return. But during our suspense it was told us, that the mosolem was likewise upon his return to his master, the bassa of Tripoli: upon which intelligence we resolved, if possible, to join ourselves to his company.

Wednesday, April 14.—We went with a small present in our hands, to wait upon the mosolem, in order to inquire the time of his departure, and acquaint him with our desire to go under his protection. He assured us of his setting out the next morning; so we immediately took our leaves in order to prepare ourselves for accompanying him.

I was willing, before our departure, to measure the circuit of the city: so taking one of the friars with me, I went out in the afternoon, in order to pace the walls round. We went out at Bethlehem-gate, and proceeding on the right hand, came about to the same gate again. I found the whole city 4630 paces in circumference, which I computed thus:

	Paces.
From Bethlehem-gate to the corner of the right hand	400
From that corner to Damascus-gate	680
From Damascus-gate to Herod's	380
From Herod's-gate to Jeremiah's-prison	150
From Jeremiah's-prison to the corner next the valley of Jehosaphat	225
From that corner to St. Stephen's-gate	385
From St. Stephen's-gate to the Golden-gate	240
From the Golden-gate to the corner of the wall	380
From that corner to the Dung-gate	470
From the Dung-gate to Sion-gate	605
From Sion-gate to the corner of the wall	215
From that corner to Bethlehem-gate	500
In all, paces	4630

The reduction of my paces to yards, is by casting away a tenth part, ten of my paces making nine yards; by which reckoning the 4630 paces amount to 4167 yards, which make just two miles and a half.

Thursday, April 15.—This morning our diplomata were presented us by the father guardian, to certify our having visited all the holy places; and we presented the convent fifty dollars a man, as a gratuity for their trouble; which offices having past betwixt us, we took our leaves.

We set out together with the mosolem, and proceeding in the same road by which we came, lodged the first night at Kane Leban. But the mosolem left us here, and continued his stage as far as Naplosa; so we saw him no more. The

country people were now every where at plough in the fields in order to sow cotton. It was observable, that in ploughing they used goads of an extraordinary size. Upon measuring of several, I found them about eight feet long, and at the bigger end six inches in circumference. They were armed at the lesser end with a sharp prickle for driving the oxen, and at the other end with a small spade, or paddle of iron, strong and massy, for cleansing the plough from the clay that encumbers it in working. May we not from hence conjecture, that it was with such a goad as one of these, that Shamgar made that prodigious slaughter related of him, Judges iii. 31? I am confident that whoever should see one of these instruments, would judge it to be a weapon not less fit, perhaps fitter than a sword, for such an execution. Goads of this sort I saw always used hereabouts, and also in Syria; and the reason is, because the same single person both drives the oxen, and also holds and manages the plough, which makes it necessary to use such a goad as is above described, to avoid the incumbrance of two instruments.

Friday, April 16.—Leaving Kane Leban we proceeded still in our former road; and passing by Naplosa and Samaria, we came to the fountain Selee, and there took up our lodging this night.

Saturday, April 17.—The next morning we continued on in the same road that we travelled when outward bound, till we came to Caphar Arab. At this place we left our former way, and instead of turning off on the left hand to go for Acra, we kept our course straight forwards, resolving to cross directly athwart the plain of Esdraelon, and to visit Nazareth.

Proceeding in this course from Caphar Arab, we came in about half an hour to Jeneen. This is a large old town, on the skirts of Esdraelon: it has in it an old castle, and two mosques, and is the chief residence of the emir Chibly. Here we were accosted with a command from the emir not to advance any farther, till he should come in person to receive of us his caphars. This was very unwelcome news to us, who had met with a trial of his civility before. But, however, we had no remedy, and, therefore, thought it best to comply as contentedly as we could. Having been kept thus in suspense from two in the morning till sunset, we then received an order from the prince, to pay the caphar to an officer, whom he sent to receive it, and dismiss us.

Having received this licence, we made all the haste we could to dispatch the caphar, and to get clear of these Arabs, but, notwithstanding all our diligence, it was near midnight before we could finish. After which we departed, and entering immediately into the plain of Esdraelon, travelled over it all night, and in seven hours reached its

other side. Here we had a very steep and rocky ascent; but, however, in half an hour, we mastered it, and arrived at Nazareth.

Sunday, April 18.—Nazareth is at present only an inconsiderable village, situate in a kind of round concave valley, on the top of an high hill. We were entertained at the convent built over the place of the Annunciation. At this place are, as it were immured, seven or eight Latin fathers, who live a life truly mortified, being perpetually in fear of the Arabs, who are absolute lords of the country.

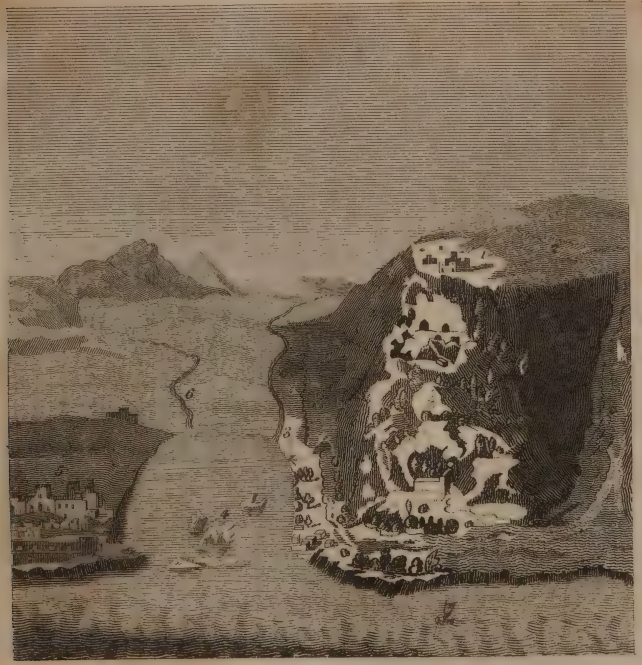
We went in the afternoon to visit the sanctuary of this place. The church of Nazareth stands in a cave, supposed to be the place where the blessed Virgin received that joyful message of the Angel, *Hail, thou that art highly favoured*, &c. Luke i. 28. It resembles the figure of a cross. That part of it that stands for the tree of the cross, is fourteen paces long, and six over; and runs directly into the grot, having no other arch over it at top, but that of the natural rock: the traverse part of the cross is nine paces long and four broad, and is built athwart the mouth of the grot. Just at the section of the cross are erected two granite pillars, each two feet and one inch diameter, and about three feet distance from each other. They are supposed to stand on the very places, one, where the Angel, the other, where the blessed Virgin stood at the time of the Annunciation. Of these pillars, the innermost being that of the

blessed Virgin, has been broke away by the Turks, in expectation of finding treasure under it; so that eighteen inches length of it is clean gone, between the pillar and its pedestal. Nevertheless it remains erect; though by what art it is sustained, I could not discern. It touches the roof above, and is probably hanged upon that: unless you had rather take the friar's account of it, viz. that it is supported by a miracle.

After this we went to see the house of Joseph, being the same, as they tell you, in which the Son of God lived, for near thirty years, in subjection to man, Luke ii. 51. Not far distant from hence they shew you the synagogue, where our blessed Lord preached that sermon, Luke iv. by which he so exasperated his countrymen. Both these places lie north west from the convent, and were anciently dignified each with a handsome church; but these monuments of queen Helena's piety are now in ruins.

Monday, April 19.—This day we destined for visiting Mount Tabor, standing by itself in the plain of Esdraelon, about two or three furlongs within the plain.

Its being situate in such a separate manner has induced most authors to conclude, that this must needs be that holy mountain (as St. Peter styles it, 2 Pet. i. 18.) which was the place of our blessed Lord's Transfiguration, related Mat. xvii. Mark ix. There you read that Christ *took with him* Peter, James, *and* John, *into a mountain apart;* from



MOUNT CARMEL.

1. The great Monastery of the Carmelites _ 2. Where Elias sacrificed _ 3. The River Kishon.
4. The Haven of St. John d'Acre _ 5. The Town of St. John d'Acra _ 6. The River Belus.

MOUNT TABOR.

1. Naim _ 2. Endor _ 3. Mount Hermon _ 4. The Mountains of Gilboa _ 5. The Mountains of Samaria _ 6. River Kishon _ 7. The Plain of Esdraelon _ 8. Valley of Iezrael.

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which description they infer, that the mountain there spoke of can be no other than Tabor. The conclusion may possibly be true; but the argument used to prove it, seems incompetent; because the term κατ' ἰδίαν, or *apart*, most likely relates to the withdrawing and retirement of the persons there spoken of; and not the situation of the mountain.

After a very laborious ascent, which took up near an hour, we reached the highest part of the mountain. It has a plain area at top, most fertile and delicious, of an oval figure, extended about one furlong in breadth, and two in length. This area is inclosed with trees on all parts, except toward the south. It was anciently environed with walls, and trenches, and other fortifications, of which it exhibits many remains at this day.

In this area there are in several places, cisterns of good water: but those which are most devoutly visited, are three contiguous grottos made to represent the three tabernacles which St. Peter proposed to erect, in the astonishment that possessed him at the glory of the Transfiguration. *Lord,* (says he) *it is good for us to be here; let us make three tabernacles, one for thee,* &c.

I cannot forbear to mention in this place an observation, which is very obvious to all that visit the Holy-Land, viz. that almost all passages and histories related in the gospel are represented, by them that undertake to shew where every thing was done, as having been done most of them in grottos; and that even in such cases, where

the condition and circumstances of the actions themselves seem to require places of another nature.

Thus, if you would see the place where St. Anne was delivered of the blessed Virgin, you are carried to a grotto; if the place of the Annunciation, it is also a grotto; if the place where the blessed Virgin saluted Elisabeth; if that of the Baptist's, or that of our blessed Saviour's Nativity; if that of the agony, or that of St. Peter's repentance, or that where the Apostles made the creed, or this of the Transfiguration, all these places are also grottos. And in a word, wherever you go, you find almost every thing is represented as done under ground. Certainly grottos were anciently held in great esteem; or else they could never have been assigned, in spite of all probability, for the places in which were done so many various actions. Perhaps it was the hermits way of living in grottos from the fifth or sixth century downward, that has brought them ever since to be in so great reputation.

From the top of Tabor you have a prospect, which, if nothing else, well rewards the labour of ascending it. It is impossible for man's eyes to behold a higher gratification of this nature. On the north west you discern at a distance the Mediterranean; and all round you have the spacious and beautiful plains of Esdraelon and Galilee, which present you with the view of so many places memorable for the resort and miracles of the Son of God.

At the bottom of Tabor westward stands Daberah, a small village, supposed by some to take its name from Deborah, that famous judge and deliverer of Israel. Near this valley is the fountain of Kishon.

Not many leagues distant eastward, you see Mount Hermon; at the foot of which is seated Nain, famous for our Lord's raising the widow's son there, Luke vii. 14. and Endor, the place where dwelt the witch consulted by Saul. Turning a little southward, you have in view the high mountains of Gilboa, fatal to Saul and his sons.

Due east you discover the sea of Tiberias, distant about one day's journey; and close by that sea, they shew a steep mountain, down which the swine ran, and perished in the waters, Matt. viii. 32.

A few points towards the north appears that which they call the *Mount of the Beatitudes;* a small rising, from which our blessed Saviour delivered his sermon in the v. vi. and vii. chapters of St. Matthew. Not far from this little hill is the city Saphet, supposed to be the ancient Bethulia. It stands upon a very eminent and conspicuous mountain, and is seen far and near. May we not suppose that Christ alludes to this city in those words of his sermon, Matt. v. 14. *A city set on a hill cannot be hid?* A conjecture which seems the more probable, because our Lord, in several places, affects to illustrate his discourse by comparisons taken from objects that were then present before the eyes of his auditors. As when

he bids them, *behold the fowls of the air*, chap. vi. 16. *and the lilies of the field*, ibid. verse 28.

From Mount Tabor you have likewise the sight of a place, which they will tell you was Dothaim, where Joseph was sold by his brethren; and of the field, where our blessed Saviour fed the multitude with a few loaves, and fewer fishes. But whether it was the place where he divided the five loaves and two fishes amongst the five thousand, Matt. xiv. 16, &c. or the seven loaves amongst the four thousand, Matt. xv. 32. I left them to agree among themselves.

Having received great satisfaction in the sight of this mountain, we returned to the convent the same way that we came. After dinner we made another small excursion, in order to see that which they call the *Mountain of the Precipitation;* that is, the brow of the hill from which the Nazarites would have thrown down our blessed Saviour, being incensed at his sermon preached to them, Luke iv. This precipice is at least half a league distant from Nazareth southward. In going to it you cross first over the vale in which Nazareth stands; and then going down two or three furlongs in a narrow cleft between the rocks, you there clamber up a short, but difficult way on the right hand; at the top of which, you find a great stone standing on the brink of a precipice, which is said to be the very place, where our Lord was destined to be thrown down by his enraged neighbours, had he not made a miraculous

escape out of their hands. There are in the stone several little holes, resembling the prints of fingers thrust into it. These, if the friars say truth, are the impressions of Christ's fingers, made in the hard stone, while he resisted the violence that was offered to him. At this place are seen two or three cisterns for saving water, and a few ruins; which is all that now remains of a religious building founded here by the empress Helena.

Tuesday, April 20.—The next morning we took our leave of Nazareth, presenting the guardian five a piece, for his trouble and charge in entertaining us. We directed our course for Acra; in order to which, going at first northward, we crossed the hills that encompassed the vale of Nazareth on that side. After which, we turned to the westward, and passed in view of Cana of Galilee; the place signalized with the beginning of Christ's miracles, John ii. 11. In an hour and half more we came to Sepharia; a place reverenced for being the reputed habitation of Joachim and Anna, the parents of the blessed Virgin. It had once the name of Diocesaria, and was a place in good repute: but at present it is reduced to a poor village, shewing only here and there a few ruins, to testify its ancient better condition. On the west side of the town stands good part of a large church, built on the same place, where they say stood the house of Joachim and Anna; it is fifty paces long, and in breadth proportionable.

At Sepharia begins the delicious plain of Zabulon. We were an hour and a half in crossing it; and, in an hour and a half more, passed by a desolate village on the right hand, by name Satyra. In half an hour more we entered the plains of Acra, and in one hour and a half more arrived at that place. Our stage this day was somewhat less than seven hours: it lay about west and by north, and through a country very delightful, and fertile beyond imagination.

Wednesday, April 21.—At Acra we were very courteously treated by the French consul and merchant, as we had been when outward bound. Having staid only one night, we took our leaves; and returning by the same way of the coast, that I have described before, came the first night to our old lodgings at Solomon's cisterns, and the second to Sidon.

Thursday, April 22.—Three hours distant from Sidon, we were carried by the French consul to see a place, which we passed by unregarded in our journey outward; though it very well deserves a traveller's observation.

At about the distance of a mile from the sea, there runs along a high rocky mountain; in the side of which are hewn a multitude of grots, all very little differing from each other; they have entrances of about two foot square. On the inside you find in most, or all of them, a room of about four yards square: on the one side of which

is the door, on the other three, are as many little cells, elevated about two feet above the floor. Here are of these subterraneous caverns (as I was informed by those who had counted them) two hundred in number. They go by the name of the grots of ——. The great doubt concerning them is, whether they were made for the dead or the living. That which makes me doubt of this is, because though all the ancient sepulchres in this country very much resemble these grottos; yet they have something peculiar in them, which intices one to believe they might be designed for the reception of the living; for several of the cells within were of a figure not fit for having corpses deposited in them, being some a yard square, some more, and some less, and seeming to be made for family uses. Over the door of every cell, there was a channel cut to convey the water away, that it might not annoy the rooms within. And because the cells were cut above each other, some higher, some lower, in the side of the rock, here were convenient stairs cut, for the easier communication betwixt the upper and nether regions. At the bottom of the rock were also several old cisterns for storing up water. From all which arguments it may, with probability at least, be concluded, that these places were contrived for the use of the living, and not of the dead. But what sort of people they may be that inhabited this subterraneous city, or how long ago they lived, I am not able to resolve; true it

is, Strabo describes the habitations of the Troglodytæ to have been somewhat of this kind.

Friday, April 23.—We continued this day at Sidon, being treated by our friends of the French nation with great generosity.

Saturday, April 24.—This morning we took our leave of the worthy French consul, and the rest of our other friends of that nation, in order to go for Damascus.

Damascus lies near due east from Sidon: it is usually esteemed three days journey distant, the road lying over the mountain Libanus and Anti-Libanus.

Having gone about half an hour through the olive yards of Sidon, we came to the foot of Mount Libanus. In two hours and a half more we came to a small village called Caphar Milki. Thus far our ascent was easy; but now it began to grow more steep and difficult; in which having laboured one hour and one third more, we then came to a fresh fountain called Ambus Lee; where we encamped for this night. Our whole stage was four hours and one third; our course east.

Sunday, April 25.—The next day we continued ascending for three good hours, and then arrived at the highest ridge of the mountain, where the snow lay close by the road. We began

immediately to descend again on the other side, and in two hours came to a small village called Meshgarah, where there gushes out, at once, from the side of the mountain, a plentiful stream, which falling down into a valley below, makes a fine brook, and after a current of about two leagues, loses itself in a river called Letane.

At Meshgarah there is a caphar* demanded by the Druses, who are the possessors of these mountains. We were for a little while perplexed by the excessive demand made upon us by the caphar-men; but finding us obstinate they desisted.

Having gone one hour beyond Meshgarah, we got clear of the mountain, and entered into a valley called Bocat. This Bocat seems to be the same with Bicath Aven, mentioned Amos i. 5. together with Eden and Damascus; for there is very near it, in Mount Libanus, a place called Eden to this day. It might also have the name of *Aven*, that is, *vanity*, given it, from the idolatrous worship of Baal practised at Balbeck or Heliopolis, which is situate in this valley. The valley is about two hours over, and in length extends several days journey, lying near north east and south west. It is enclosed on both sides with two parallel mountains, exactly resembling each other; the one that which we lately passed over between this and Sidon, the other opposite against it towards Damascus. The former I take to be the true Libanus, the latter Anti-Libanus; which

* Half per Frank, quarter per servant.

two mountains are no where so well distinguished as at this valley.

In the bottom of the valley, there runs a large river called Letane. It rises about two days journey northward, not far from Balbeck; and keeping its course all down the valley, falls at last into the river Casimeer, or (as it is erroneously called) Eleutherus.

Thus far our course had been due east; but here we inclined some points toward the north.

Crossing obliquely over the valley, we came in half an hour to a bridge over the river Letane. It consists of five stone arches, and is called Kor Aren, from a village at a little distance of the same name. At this bridge we crossed the river, and having travelled about an hour and a half on its bank, pitched our tents there for this night, Our whole stage was eight hours.

Monday, April 26.—The next morning we continued our oblique course over the valley Bocat. In an hour we passed close by a small village called Jib Jeneen, and in three quarters of an hour more, came to the foot of the mountain Anti-Libanus. Here we had an easy ascent, and in half an hour passed by, on our right hand, a village called Uzzi. In three quarters of an hour more we arrived at Ayta, a village of Christians of the Greek communion. At this last place the road began to grow very rocky and troublesome; in which having travelled an hour, we arrived at a small rivulet called Ayn Yentloe. Here we en-

tered into a narrow cleft between two rocky mountains, passing through which, we arrived in four hours at Demass, gently descending all the way. At Demass a small caphar* is demanded: which being dispatched, we put forward again, but had not gone above an hour and a half, when it grew dark, and we were forced to stop at a very inhospitable place, but the best we could find; affording no grass for our horses, nor any water, but just enough to breed frogs, by which we were serenaded all night.

Tuesday, April 27.—Early the next morning we deserted this uncomfortable lodging, and in about an hour arrived at the river Barrady; our road still descending. This is the river that waters Damascus, and enriches it with all its plenty and pleasure. It is not so much as twenty yards over; but comes pouring down from the mountains with great rapidity, and with so vast a body of water, that it abundantly supplies all the thirsty gardens, and the city of Damascus.

We crossed Barrady at a new bridge over it, called Dummar. On the other side our road ascended, and in half an hour brought us to the brink of a high precipice, at the bottom of which the river runs; the mountain being here cleft asunder to give it admission into the plain below.

At the highest part of the precipice is erected a small structure, like a sheck's sepulchre, con-

*Quarter per head.

cerning which the Turks relate this story: that their prophet, coming near Damascus, took his station at that place for some time, in order to view the city; and considering the ravishing beauty and delightfulness of it, he would not tempt his frailty by entering into it, but instantly departed, with this reflection upon it, that there was but one paradise designed for man, and for his part he was resolved not to take his in this world.

You have indeed, from the precipice, the most perfect prospect of Damascus. And certainly no place in the world can promise the beholder, at a distance, greater voluptuousness. It is situate in an even plain, of so great extent, that you can but just discern the mountains that compass it on the farther side. It stands on the west side of the plain, at not above two miles distance from the place where the river Barrady breaks out from between the mountains; its gardens extending almost to the very place.

The city itself is of a long straight figure; its ends pointing near north east and south west. It is very slender in the middle, but swells bigger at each end, especially at that to the north east. In its length, as far as I could guess by my eye, it may extend near two miles. It is thick set with mosques and steeples, the usual ornaments of the Turkish cities; and is encompassed with gardens, extending no less, according to common estimation, than thirty miles round, which makes it look like a noble city in a vast wood. The gardens are thick set with fruit trees of all kinds,

kept fresh and verdant by the waters of Barrady. You discover in them many turrets, and steeples, and summer-houses, frequently peeping out from amongst the green boughs, which may be conceived to add no small advantage and beauty to the prospect. On the north side of this vast wood is a place called Solhees, where are the most beautiful summer-houses and gardens.

The greatest part of this pleasantness and fertility proceeds, as I said, from the waters of Barrady, which supply both the gardens and city in great abundance. This river, as soon as it issues out from between the cleft of the mountain before mentioned, into the plain, is immediately divided into three streams, of which the middlemost and biggest runs directly to Damascus, through a large open field, called the Ager Damascenus, and is distributed to all the cisterns and fountains of the city. The other two (which I take to be the work of art) are drawn round, one to the right hand, and the other to the left, on the borders of the gardens, into which they are let as they pass, by little currents, and so dispersed all over the vast wood; insomuch that there is not a garden but has a fine quick stream running through it, which serves not only for watering the place, but is also improved into fountains, and other water-works very delightful, though not contrived with that variety of exquisite art which is used in Christendom.

Barrady being thus described, is almost wholly drunk up by the city and gardens. What small

part of it escapes, is united, as I was informed, in one channel again, on the south east side of the city; and after about three or four hours course, finally loses itself in a bog there, without ever arriving at the sea.

The Greeks, and from them the Romans, call this river Chrysorrhoas. But as for Abana and Pharpar, rivers of Damascus, mentioned 2 Kings, v. 12. I could find no memory, so much as of the names remaining. They must doubtless have been only two branches of the river Barrady; and one of them was probably the same stream that now runs through the Ager Damascenus, directly to the city, which seems by its serpentine way to be a natural channel: the other I know not well where to find; but it is no wonder, seeing they may and do turn, and alter the courses of this river, according to their own convenience and pleasure.

We continued a good while upon the precipice, to take a view of the city; and, indeed, it is a hard matter to leave a station which presents you so charming a landscape. It exhibits the paradise below as a most fair and delectable place, and yet will hardly suffer you to stir away, to go to it: thus at once inviting you to the city, by the pleasure which it seems to promise, and detaining you from it by the beauty of the prospect.

Coming down the hill into the plain, we were there met by a janizary from the convent, sent to conduct us into the city. He did not think fit to carry us in at the west gate (which was nearest

at hand,) and so all across the city, to the Latin convent where we were to lodge, for fear the Damascens, who are a very bigotted and insolent race, should be offended at so great a number of Franks as we were: to avoid which danger, he led us round about the gardens, before we arrived at the gate. The garden walls are of a very singular structure. They are built of great pieces of earth, made in the fashion of brick, and hardened in the sun. In their dimensions they are two yards long each, and somewhat more than one broad, and half a yard thick. Two rows of these placed edge ways, one upon another, make a cheap, expeditious, and, in this dry country, a durable wall.

In passing between the gardens, we also observed their method of scouring the channels. They put a great bough of a tree in the water, and fasten to it a yoke of oxen. Upon the bough there sits a good weighty fellow, to press it down to the bottom, and to drive the oxen. In this equipage the bough is dragged all along the channel, and serves at once both to cleanse the bottom, and also to mud and fatten the water for the greater benefit of the gardens.

Entering at the east gate, we went immediately to the convent, and were very courteously received by the guardian, father Raphael, a Majorkine by birth, and a person, who though he had dedicated himself to the contemplative life, yet is not unfit for any affairs of the active.

Wednesday, April 28.—This morning we walked out to take a view of the city. The first place we went to visit was the house of an eminent Turk. The streets here are narrow, as is usual in hot countries, and the houses are all built, on the outside, of no better a material than either sun-burnt brick, or Flemish wall, daubed over in as coarse a manner as can be seen in the vilest cottages. From this dirty way of building, they have this amongst other inconveniencies, that upon any violent rain, the whole city becomes, by the washing of the houses, as it were a quagmire.

It may be wondered what should induce the people to build in this manner, when they have in the adjacent mountains such plenty of good stone, for nobler fabrics. I can give no reason for it, unless this may pass for such; that those who first planted here, finding so delicious a situation, were in haste to come to the enjoyment of it; and, therefore, nimbly set up those extemporary habitations, being unwilling to defer their pleasure so long, as whilst they might erect more magnificent structures: which primitive example their successors have followed ever since.

But, however, in these mud walls you find the gates and doors adorned with marble portals, carved and inlaid with great beauty and variety. It is an object not a little surprising, to see mud and marble, state and sordidness, so mingled together.

In the inside, the houses discover a very different face from what you see without. Here you

find generally a large square court, beautified with variety of fragrant trees, and marble fountains, and compassed round with splendid apartments and duans. The duans are floored and adorned on the sides, with variety of marble, mixed in Mosaic knots and mazes. The ceilings and traves are, after the Turkish manner, richly painted and gilded. They have generally artificial fountains springing up before them in marble basons; and, as for carpets and cushions, are furnished out to the height of luxury. Of these duans they have generally several on all sides of the court, being placed at such different points, that at one or other of them, you may always have either the shade or the sun, which you please.

Such as I have described was the house we went to see; and I was told the rest resemble the same description.

In the next place we went to see the church of St. John Baptist, now converted into a mosque, and held too sacred for Christians to enter, or almost to look into. However, we had three short views of it, looking in at three several gates. Its gates are vastly large, and covered with brass, stamped all over with Arab characters, and in several places with the figure of a chalice, supposed to be the ancient ensign, or arms, of the Mamalukes. On the north side of the church is a spacious court, which I could not conjecture to be less than one hundred and fifty yards long and eighty or one hundred broad. The court is paved all over,

and enclosed on the south side by the church, on the other three sides by a double cloister, supported by two rows of granite pillars of the Corinthian order, exceeding lofty and beautiful.

On the south side the church joins to the bazars, and there we had an opportunity just to peep into it. It is within spacious and lofty, built with three aisles, between which are rows of polished pillars of a surprising beauty; unless, perhaps, we were tempted to overvalue what was so sparingly permitted to our survey.

In this church are kept the head of St. John, and some other relics esteemed so holy, that it is death even for a Turk to presume to go into the room where they are kept. We were told here by a Turk of good fashion, that Christ was to descend into this mosque at the day of judgment, as Mahomet was to do into that of Jerusalem: but the ground and reason of this tradition I could not learn.

From the church we went to the castle, which stands about two furlongs distant, towards the west. It is a good building of the rustic manner; in length it is three hundred and forty paces, and in breadth somewhat less. We were admitted but just within the gate, where we saw store of ancient arms and armour, the spoils of the Christians in former times. Amongst the artillery was an old Roman balista; but this was a place not long to be gazed upon by such as we were. At the east end of the castle there hangs down in the

middle of the wall a short chain cut in stone; of what use I know not, unless to boast the skill of the artificer.

Leaving this place we went to view the bazars, which we found crowded with people, but destitute of any thing else worth observing.

Thursday, April 29.—Very early this morning we went to see the yearly great pomp of the Hadgees setting out on their pilgrimage to Mecca; Ostan, bassa of Tripoli, being appointed their emir, or conductor, for this year. For our better security from the insolences of the over zealous votaries, we hired a shop in one of the bazars through which they were to pass.

In this famous cavalcade there came first forty-six dellees, that is, religious madmen, carrying each a silk streamer, mixt either of red and green, or of yellow and green; after these came three troops of segmen, an order of soldiers amongst the Turks; and next to them, some troops of spahees, another order of soldiery: these were followed by eight companies of mugrubines (so the Turks call the Barbaroses) on foot: these were fellows of a very formidable aspect, and were designed to be left in garrison, maintained by the Turks somewhere in the desert of Arabia, and relieved every year with fresh men. In the midst of the mugrubines, there passed six small pieces of ordnance. In the next place came on foot the soldiers of the castle of Damascus, fan-

tastically armed with coats of mail, gauntlets, and other pieces of old armour. These were followed by troops of janizaries, and their aga, all mounted. Next were brought the bassa's two horse tails, ushered by his aga of the court; and next after the tails followed six led horses, all of excellent shape, and nobly furnished. Over the saddle there was a girt upon each led horse, and a large silver target gilded with gold.

After these horses came the mahmal. This is a large pavilion of black silk, pitched upon the back of a very great camel, and spreading its curtains all round about the beast down to the ground. The pavilion is adorned at top with a gold ball, and with gold fringes round about. The camel that carries it wants not also his ornaments of large ropes of beads, fish-shells, fox-tails, and other such fantastical finery hanged upon his head, neck, and legs. All this is designed for the state of the Alcoran, which is placed with great reverence under the pavilion, where it rides in state both to and from Mecca. The Alcoran is accompanied with a rich new carpet, which the grand signieur sends every year for the covering of Mahomet's tomb, having the old one brought back in return for it, which is esteemed of an inestimable value, after having been so long next neighbour to the prophet's rotten bones. The beast which carries this sacred load, has the privilege to be exempted from all other burdens ever after.

After the mahmal came another troop, and with

them the bassa himself; and last of all, twenty loaded camels, with which the train ended, having been three quarters of an hour in passing.

Having observed what we could of this shew (which perhaps was never seen by Franks before) we went to view some other curiosities. The first place we came to was the Ager Damascenus, a long beautiful meadow, just without the city, on the west side. It is divided in the middle by that branch of the river Barrady which supplies the city; and is taken notice of, because of a tradition current here, that Adam was made of the earth of this field.

Adjoining to the Agar Damascenus is a large hospital: it has within it a pleasant square court, enclosed on the south side by a stately mosque, and on its other sides with cloisters, and lodgings of no contemptible structure.

Returning from hence homeward, we were shewn by the way a very beautiful bagnio; and not far from it a coffee-house capable of entertaining four or five hundred people, shaded over head with trees, and with mats when the boughs fail. It had two quarters for the reception of guests; one proper for the summer, the other for the winter. That designed for the summer was a small island, washed all round with a large swift stream, and shaded over head with mats and trees. We found here a multitude of Turks upon the duans, regaling themselves in this pleasant place; there being nothing which they behold with so much delight as greens and water: to which if a

beautiful face be added, they have a proverb, that all three together make a perfect antidote against melancholy.

In the afternoon, we went to visit the house which, they say, was sometime the house of Ananias, the restorer of sight to St. Paul, Acts ix. 17. The place shewn for it is (according to the old rule) a small grotto, or cellar, affording nothing remarkable, but only that there are in it a Christian altar, and a Turkish praying place, seated nearer to each other, than well agrees with the nature of such places.

Our next walk was out of the east gate, in order to see the place (they say) of St. Paul's vision, and what else is observable on that side. The place of the vision is about half a mile distant from the city, eastward; it is close by the way side, and has no building to distinguish it, nor do I believe it ever had: only there is a small rock, or heap of gravel, which serves to point out the place.

About two furlongs nearer the city, is a small timber structure, resembling the cage of a country borough. Within it is an altar erected: there you are told, the holy apostle rested for some time in his way to this city, after his vision, Acts ix. 8.

Being returned to the city, we were shewn the gate at which St. Paul was let down in a basket, Acts ix. 25. This gate is at present walled up, by reason of its vicinity to the east gate, which renders it of little use.

Entering again into the city, we went to see the great patriarch residing in this city. He was a person of about forty years of age. The place of his residence was mean, and his person and converse promised not any thing extraordinary. He told me there were more than one thousand two hundred souls of the Greek communion in that city.

Friday, April 30.—The next day we went to visit the gardens, and to spend a day there. The place where we disposed of ourselves was about a mile out of town. It afforded us a very pleasant summer-house, having a plentiful stream of water running through it. The garden was thick set with fruit trees, but without any art or order. Such as this, are all the gardens hereabouts; only with this odds, that some of them have their summer-houses more splendid than others, and their waters improved into greater variety of fountains.

In visiting these gardens, Franks are obliged either to walk on foot, or else to ride upon asses; the insolence of the Turks not allowing them to mount on horseback. To serve them upon these occasions, here are hackney asses always standing ready equipped for hire. When you are mounted, the master of the ass follows his beast to the place whither you are disposed to go; goading him up behind with a sharp pointed stick, which makes him dispatch his stage with great expedition. It is apt sometimes to give a little disgust to the generous traveller, to be forced to submit to such

marks of scorn; but there is no remedy; and if the traveller will take my advice, his best way will be to mount his ass contentedly, and to turn the affront into a motive of recreation, as we did. Having spent the day in the garden, we returned in the evening to the convent.

Saturday, May 1.—The next day we spent at another garden, not far distant from the former; but far exceeding it in the beauty of its summer-house, and the variety of its fountains.

Sunday, May 2.—We went, as many of us as were disposed, to Sydonaiia, a Greek convent about four hours distant from Damascus, to the northward, or north by east: the road, excepting only two steep ascents, is very good. In this stage we passed by two villages, the first called Tall, the second Meneen. At a good distance on the right hand is a very high hill, reported to be the same on which Cain and Abel offered their sacrifices; and where also the former slew his brother, setting the first example of bloodshed to the world.

Sydonaiia is situated at the farther side of a large vale on the top of a rock. The rock is cut with steps all up, without which it would be inaccessible. It is fenced all round at the top with a strong wall, which incloses the convent. It is a place of very mean structure, and contains nothing in it extraordinary, but only the wine made here, which is indeed most excellent. This place was at first founded and endowed by the emperor

Justinian. It is at present possessed by twenty Greek monks, and forty nuns, who seem to live promiscuously together without any order or separation.

Here are upon this rock, and within a little compass round about it, no less than sixteen churches or oratories, dedicated to several names. The first, to St. John; second, to St. Paul; third, to St. Thomas; fourth, to St. Babylas; fifth, to St. Barbara; sixth, to St. Christopher; seventh, to St. Joseph; eighth, to St. Lazarus; ninth, to the blessed Virgin; tenth, to St. Demetrius; eleventh, to St. Saba; twelfth, to St. Peter; thirteenth, to St. George; fourteenth, to All Saints; fifteenth, to the Ascension; sixteenth, to the Transfiguration of our Lord: from all which, we may well conclude this place was held anciently in no small repute for sanctity. Many of these churches I actually visited; but found them so ruined and desolate, that I had not courage to go to all.

In the chapel made use of by the convent for their daily services, they pretend to shew a great miracle, done here some years since; of which, take this account, as I received it from them.

They had once in the church a little picture of the blessed Virgin, very much resorted to by supplicants, and famous for the many cures and blessings granted in return to their prayers. It happened that a certain sacrilegious rogue took an opportunity to steal away this miraculous picture; but he had not kept it long in his custody,

when he found it metamorphosed into a real body of flesh. Being struck with wonder and remorse at so prodigious an event, he carried back the prize to its true owners, confessing, and imploring forgiveness for his crime. The monks having recovered so great a jewel, and being willing to prevent such another disaster for the future, thought fit to deposit it in a small chest of stone; and placing it in a little cavity, in the wall behind the high altar, fixed an iron grate before it, in order to secure it from any fraudulent attempts for the future. Upon the grates there are hanged abundance of little toys and trinkets, being the offerings of many votaries in return for the success given to their prayers at this shrine. Under the same chest in which the incarnate picture was deposited, they always place a small silver bason, in order to receive the distillation of an holy oil which they pretend issues out from the enclosed image, and does wonderful cures in many distempers, especially those affecting the eyes.

On the east side of the rock is an ancient sepulchre hollowed in the firm stone. The room is about eight yards square, and contains in its sides (as I remember) twelve chests for corpses. Over the entrance there are carved six statues as big as the life, standing in three niches, two in each nich. At the pedestals of the statues may be observed a few Greek words, which, as far as I was able to discern them in their present obscurity, are as follows:

ΕΤΟΥCΙΦ--	Ι [ΟΥ] Λ ϐΦΙ[ΛΙ	ΙΟΥΛ ϐΔΗΜΗ
ΙΟΥΛ ϐΑΡΤe	Π] ΠΙR ΟC	ΓΡΙΟC ΚΑ[Ι Α[ΡΙ]
ϖΙΔΙΡΟC ΚΑΙ	[Κ]ΑΙ ΔΟΜΝCΙΝΑ	ΑΔΝΗ ΓΥ[ΝΗ]
ΠΡeΙΓΚΥΓΥΝΗ	ΓΥΝΗ	ΠΑΝΤΑCeΠΟΙΟΥ[Ν]
Under the first.	*Under the second.*	*Under the third nich.*

A gentleman in our company, and myself have reason to remember this place, for an escape we had in it. A drunken janizary passing under the window where we were, chanced to have a drop of wine thrown out upon his vest. Upon which innocent provocation, he presented his pistol at us in at the window: had it gone off, it must have been fatal to one or both of us, who sat next the place. But it pleased God to restrain his fury. This evening we returned again to Damascus.

Monday, May 3.—This morning we went to see the street called *Straight*, Acts ix. 11. It is about half a mile in length, running from east to west through the city. It being narrow, and the houses jutting out in several places on both sides, you cannot have a clear prospect of its length and straitness. In this street is shewn the house of Judas, with whom St. Paul lodged; and in the same house is an old tomb, said to be Ananias's: but how he should come to be buried here, they could not tell us, nor could we guess; his own house being shewn us in another place. However, the Turks have a reverence for this tomb, and maintain a lamp always burning over it.

In the afternoon, having presented the convent with ten *per* man for our kind reception, we took

our leave of Damascus, and shaped our course for Tripoli; designing in the way to see Balbeck, and the cedars of Libanus. In order to this, we returned the same way by which we came; and crossing the river Barrady again at the bridge of Dummar, came to a village of the same name a little farther, and there lodged this night. We travelled this afternoon three hours.

Tuesday, May 4.—This morning we left our old road, and took another more northerly. In an hour and a half, we came to a small village called Sinie: just by which, is an ancient structure on the top of an high hill, supposed to be the tomb of Abel, and to have given the adjacent country in old times the name of Abilene. The fratricide also is said by some to have been committed in this place. The tomb is thirty yards long; and yet it is here believed to have been but just proportioned to the stature of him who was buried in it. Here we entered into a narrow gut, between two steep rocky mountains, the river Barrady running at the bottom. On the other side of the river were several tall pillars, which excited our curiosity, to go and take a nearer view of them. We found them part of the front of some ancient, and very magnificent edifice, but of what kind we could not conjecture.

We continued upon the banks of Barrady, and came in three hours to a village called Maday; and in two hours more to a fountain called Ayn il

PROSPECT OF BALBECK.

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Hawra, where we lodged. Our whole stage was somewhat less than seven hours; our course near north west.

Wednesday, May 5.—This morning we passed by the fountain of Barrady, and came in an hour and two thirds to a village called Surgawich. At this place we left the narrow valley, in which we had travelled ever since the morning before, and ascended the mountain on the left hand. Having spent in crossing it two hours, we arrived a second time in the valley of Bocat; here steering northerly directly up the valley, we arrived in three hours at Balbeck. Our stage this day was near seven hours, and our course near about west.

At Balbeck we pitched at a place less than half a mile distant from the town, eastward, near a plentiful and delicious fountain, which grows immediately into a brook; and running down to Balbeck, adds no small pleasure and convenience to the place.

In the afternoon we walked out to see the city. But we thought fit, before we entered, to get licence of the governor, and to proceed with all caution. Being taught this necessary care by the example of some worthy English gentlemen of our factory, who visiting this place in the year 1689, in their return from Jerusalem, and suspecting no mischief, were basely intrigued by the people here, and forced to redeem their lives at a great sum of money.

Balbeck is supposed to be the ancient Helio-

polis, or City of the Sun; for that the word imports. Its present Arab, which is perhaps its most ancient name, inclines to the same importance. For Baal, though it imports all idols in general, of whatsoever sex or condition, yet it is very often appropriated to the sun, the sovereign idol of this country.

The city enjoys a most delightful and commodious situation on the east side of the valley of Bocat. It is of a square figure, compassed with a tolerable good wall, in which are towers all round at equal distances. It extends, as far as I could guess by the eye, about two furlongs on a side. Its houses within are all of the meanest structure, such as are usually seen in Turkish villages.

At the south west side of the city is a noble ruin, being the only curiosity for which this place is wont to be visited. It was anciently a heathen temple; together with some other edifices belonging to it, all truly magnificent; but in latter times these ancient structures have been patched and pieced up with several other buildings, converting the whole into a castle, under which name it goes at this day. The adjectitious buildings are of no mean architecture, but yet easily distinguishable from what is more ancient.

Coming near these ruins, the first thing you meet with is a little round pile of building, all of marble. It is encircled with columns of the Corinthian order, very beautiful, which support a cornish that runs all round the structure, of no

ordinary state and beauty. This part of it that remains, is at present in a very tottering condition, but yet the Greeks use it for a church; and it were well if the danger of its falling, which perpetually threatens, would excite those people to use a little more fervour in their prayers than they generally do; the Greeks being seemingly the most undevout and negligent at their divine service, of any sort of people in the Christian world.

From this ruin you come to a large firm pile of building, which though very lofty, and composed of huge square stones, yet I take to be part of the adjectitious work; for one sees in the inside some fragments, of images in the walls and stones, with Roman letters upon them, set the wrong way. In one stone we found graven DIVIS. and in another line MOSC. Through this pile you pass in a stately arched walk or portico, one hundred and fifty paces long, which leads you to the temple.

The temple is an oblong square, in breadth thirty-two yards, and in length sixty-four, of which eighteen were taken up by the Πρόναος or anti-temple; which is now tumbled down, the pillars being broke that sustained it. The body of the temple, which now stands, is encompassed with a noble portico, supported by pillars of the Corinthian order, measuring six feet and three inches in diameter, and about forty-five feet in height, consisting all of three stones a piece. The distance of the pillars from each other, and from the wall of the temple, is nine feet. Of these

pillars there are fourteen on each side of the temple, and eight at the end, counting the corner pillars in both numbers.

On the capitals of the pillars there runs all round a stately architrave, and cornish rarely carved. The portico is covered with large stones hollowed arch-wise, extending between the columns and the wall of the temple. In the centre of each stone is carved the figure of some one or other of the heathen gods, or goddesses, or heroes. I remember amongst the rest a Ganymede, and the eagle flying away with him, so lively done, that it excellently represented the sense of that verse in Martial,

Illæsum timidis unguibus hæsit onus.

The gate of the temple is twenty-one feet wide; but how high could not be measured, it being in part filled up with rubbish. It is moulded and beautified all round with exquisite sculpture. On the nethermost side of the portal, is carved a Fame hovering over the head as you enter, and extending its wings two thirds of the breadth of the gate; and on each side of the eagle is described a Fame likewise upon the wing. The eagle carries in its pounces a caduceus, and in his beak the strings or ribbons coming from the ends of two festoons, whose other ends are held and supported on each side by the two Fames. The whole seemed to be a piece of admirable sculpture.

The measure of the temple within, is forty yards in length, and twenty in breadth. In its walls all round are two rows of pilasters, one above the other; and between the pilasters are niches, which seem to have been designed for the reception of idols. Of these pilasters, there are eight in a row, on each side; and of the niches, nine.

About eight yards distance from the upper end of the temple, stands part of two fine channelled pillars; which seem to have made a partition in that place, and to have supported a canopy over the throne of the chief idol, whose station appears to have been in a large nich at this end. On that part of the partition which remains, are to be seen carvings in relievo, representing Neptune, tritons, fishes, sea-gods, Arion and his dolphin, and other marine figures. The covering of the whole fabric is totally broken down, but yet this I must say of the whole, as it now stands, that it strikes the mind with an air of greatness beyond any thing that I ever saw before, and is an eminent proof of the magnificence of the ancient architecture.

About fifty yards distant from the temple, is a row of Corinthian pillars, very great and lofty; with a most stately architrave and cornish at top. This speaks itself to have been part of some very august pile, but what one now sees of it is but just enough to give a regret, that there should be no more of it remaining.

Here is another curiosity of this place, which a man had need be well assured of his credit, before he ventures to relate, lest he should be thought to restrain the privilege of a traveller too far. That which I mean is a large piece of the old wall, or Περίβολος, which encompassed all these structures last described. A wall made of such monstrous great stones, that the natives hereabouts (as it is usual in things of this strange nature) ascribe it to the architecture of the devil. Three of the stones, which were larger than the rest, we took the pains to measure, and found them to extend sixty-one yards in length; one twenty-one, the other two each twenty yards. In deepness they were four yards each, and in breadth of the same dimension. These three stones lay in one and the same row, end to end. The rest of the wall was made also of great stones, but none, I think, so great as these. That which added to the wonder was, that these stones were lifted up into the wall, more than twenty feet from the ground.

In the side of a small ascent, on the east part of the town, stood an old single column, of the Tuscan order, about eighteen or nineteen yards high, and one yard and a half in diameter. It had a channel cut in its side from the bottom to the top; from whence we judged it might have been erected for the sake of raising water.

At our return to our tents, we were a little perplexed by the servants of the mosolem, about our

caphar. We were contented at last to judge it at ten *per* Frank, and five per servant, rather than we would engage in a long dispute at such a place as this.

Near the place where we were lodged was an old mosque, and (as I said before) a fine fountain. This latter had been anciently beautified with some handsome stone-work round it, which was now almost ruined.

Thursday, May 6.—Early this morning we departed from Balbeck, directing our course straight across the valley. As we passed by the walls of the city, we observed many stones inscribed with Roman letters and names; but all confused, and some placed upside down: which demonstates that the materials of the walls were the ruins of the ancient city.

In one place we found these letters, RMIPTITVEPR, in other these, VARI---; in another, NERIS; in others LVCIL---, and SEVERI, and CELNAE, and FIRMI; all which serve only to denote the resort which the Romans had to this place in ancient times.

In one hour we passed by a village called Ye ad; and in an hour more went to see an old monumental pillar, a little on the right hand of the road. It was nineteen yards high, and five feet in diameter, of the Corinthian order. It had a table for an inscription on its north side, but the letters are now perfectly erased. In one hour more we

reached the other side of the valley, at the foot of Mount Anti-Libanus.

We immediately ascended the mountain, and in two hours came to a large cavity between the hills, at the bottom of which was a lake called by its old Greek name Limone. It is about three furlongs over, and derives its waters from the melting of the snow. By this lake our guides would have had us staid all night; assuring us that if we went up higher in the mountains, we should be forced to lie amongst the snow: but we ventured that, preferring a cold lodging, before an unwholesome one. Having ascended one hour, we arrived at the snow; and proceeding amongst it for one hour and a half more, we then chose out as warm a place as we could find in so high a region; and there we lodged this night upon the very top of Libanus. Our whole stage this day was seven hours and a half.

Libanus is in this part free from rocks, and only rises and falls with small, easy unevenness, for several hours riding; but is perfectly barren and desolate. The ground, where not concealed by the snow, appeared to be covered with a sort of white slates thin and smooth. The chief benefit it serves for, is, that by its exceeding height, it proves a conservatory for abundance of snow, which thawing in the heat of summer, affords supplies of water to the rivers and fountains in the valleys below. We saw in the snow, prints of the feet of several wild beasts, which are the sole

proprietors of these upper parts of the mountains.

Friday, May 7.—The next morning we went four hours almost perpetually upon deep snow; which being frozen, bore us and our horses; and then descending for about one hour, came to a fountain called, from the name of an adjacant village, Ayn il Hadede. By this time we were got into a milder and better region.

Here was the place where we were to strike out of the way, in order to go to Canobine and the Cedars. And some of us went upon this design, whilst the rest chose rather to go directly for Tripoli, to which we had not now above four hours. We took with us a guide, who pretended to be well acquainted with the way to Canobine; but he proved an ignorant director: and after he had led us about for several hours in intricate and untrodden mazes amongst the mountains, finding him perfectly at a loss, we were forced to forsake our intended visit for the present, and to steer directly for Tripoli; where we arrived late at night, and were again entertained by our worthy friends, Mr. consul Hastings and Mr. Fisher, with their wonted friendship and generosity.

Saturday, May 8.—In the afternoon Mr. consul Hastings carried us to see the castle of Tripoli. It is pleasantly situate on a hill, commanding the city; but has neither arms nor ammunition in it, and serves rather for a prison than a garrison.

There was shut up in it at this time a poor Christian prisoner, called Sheck Eunice, a Maronite. He was one that had formerly renounced his faith, and lived for many years in the Mahometan religion; but in his declining age, he both retracted his apostacy, and died to atone for it; for he was impaled by order of the bassa two days after we left Tripoli. This punishment of impaling is commonly executed amongst the Turks for crimes of the highest degree; and is certainly one of the greatest indignities and barbarities that can be offered to human nature. The execution is done in this manner. They take a post of about the bigness of a man's leg, and eight or nine feet long, and make it very sharp at one end. This they lay upon the back of the criminal, and force him to carry it to the place of execution: imitating herein the old Roman custom, of compelling malefactors to bear their cross. Being arrived at the fatal place, they thrust in the stake at the fundament of the person who is the miserable subject of this doom; and then taking him by the legs, draw on his body upon it, till the point of the stake appears at his shoulders. After this they erect the stake, and fasten it in a hole dug in the ground. The criminal sitting in this posture upon it, remains not only still alive, but also drinks, smokes, and talks, as one perfectly sensible; and thus some have continued for twenty-four hours. But generally after the tortured wretch has remained in this deplorable and ignominious posture an hour or two, some one of the standers by is per-

mitted to give him a gracious stab to the heart; so putting an end to his inexpressible misery.

Sunday, May 9.—Despairing of any other opportunity, I made another attempt this day to see the Cedars and Canobine. Having gone for three hours across the plain of Tripoli, I arrived at the foot of Libanus; and from thence continually ascending, not without great fatigue, came in four hours and a half to a small village called Eden, and in two hours and a half more to the Cedars.

The noble trees grow amongst the snow near the highest part of Lebanon; and are remarkable as well for their own age and largeness, as for those frequent allusions made to them in the word of God. Here are some of them very old, and of a prodigious bulk; and others younger, of a smaller size. Of the former I could reckon up only sixteen; and the latter are very numerous. I measured one of the largest, and found it twelve yards six inches in girt, and yet sound; and thirty-seven yards in the spread of its boughs. At about five or six yards from the ground, it was divided into five limbs, each of which was equal to a great tree.

After about half an hour spent in surveying this place, the clouds began to thicken, and to fly along upon the ground; which so obscured the road, that my guide was very much at a loss to find our way back again. We rambled about for seven hours thus bewildered, which gave me

no small fear of being forced to spend one night more at Libanus. But at last, after a long exercise of pains and patience, we arrived at the way that goes down to Canobine; where I arrived by the time it was dark, and found a kind reception, answerable to the great need I had of it, after so long a fatigue.

Canobine is a convent of the Maronites, and the seat of a patriarch, who is at present F. Stephanus Edenensis, a person of great learning and humanity. It is a very mean structure, but its situation is admirably adapted for retirement and devotion: for there is a very deep rupture in the side of Libanus, running at least seven hours travel directly up into the mountain. It is on both sides exceeding steep and high, clothed with fragrant greens from top to bottom, and every where refreshed with fountains, falling down from the rocks in pleasant cascades; the ingenious work of nature. These streams, all uniting at the bottom, make a full and rapid torrent, whose agreeable murmuring is heard all over the place, and adds no small pleasure to it. Canobine is seated on the north side of this chasm, on the steep of the mountain, at about the midway between the top and the bottom. It stands at the mouth of a great cave, having a few small rooms fronting outward, that enjoy the light of the sun; the rest are all under ground. It had for its founder the emperor Theodosius the Great, and though it has been several times rebuilt, yet the patriarch assured me, the church was of the primitive foun-

dation. But whoever built it, it is a mean fabric, and no great credit to its founder. It stands in the grot, but fronting outwards receives a little light from that side. In the same side there were also hanged in the wall two small bells, to call the monks to their devotions: a privilege allowed no where else in this country; nor would they be suffered here, but that the Turks are far enough off from the hearing of them.

The valley of Canobine was anciently (as it well deserves) very much resorted to for religious retirement. You see here still hermitages, cells, monasteries, almost without number. There is not any little part of rock, that jets out upon the side of the mountain, but you generally see some little structure upon it, for the reception of monks and hermits; though few or none of them are now inhabited.

Monday, May 10.—After dinner I took my leave of the patriarch, and returned to Tripoli. I steered my course down by a narrow oblique path, cut in the side of the rupture, and found it three hours before I got clear of the mountain, and three more afterwards before I came to Tripoli.

Tuesday, May 11.—This day we took our leave of our worthy Tripoli friends, in order to return for Aleppo. We had some debate with ourselves, whether we should take the same way which we came, when outward bound, or a new

one by Emissa Hempse and Hamal. But we had notice of some disturbances upon this latter road; so we contented ourselves to return by the same way we came: for having had enough by this time both of the pleasure, and of the fatigue of travelling, we were willing to put an end to both, the nearest and speediest way. All that occurred to us new, in these days travel, was a particular way used by the country people in gathering their corn; it being now harvest time. They plucked it up by handfuls from the roots; leaving the most fruitful fields as naked as if nothing had ever grown on them. This was their practice in all places of the east that I have seen: and the reason is, that they may lose none of their straw, which is generally very short, and necessary for the sustenance of their cattle; no hay being here made. I mention this, because it seems to give light to that expression of the Psalmist, Psa. cxxix. 6. *which withereth before it be plucked up*, where there seems to be a manifest allusion to this custom. Our new translation renders this place otherwise: but in so doing it differs from most, or all other copies; and here we may truly say, the old is the better. There is indeed mention of a mower in the next verse; but then it is such a mower as fills not his hand; which confirms rather than weakens the preceding interpretation.

Returning, therefore, by our former stages, without any notable alteration, or occurrence, we came in eight days to the Honey Kane: at which place we found many of our Aleppine friends, who have

ing heard of our drawing homeward, were come to meet us, and welcome us home. Having dined together, and congratulated each other upon our happy re-union, we went onward the same evening to Aleppo.

Thus, by God's infinite mercy and protection, we were restored all in safety to our respective habitations. And here, before I conclude, I cannot but take notice of one thing more, which I should earnestly recommend to the devout and grateful remembrance of every person engaged in this pilgrimage, viz. that amongst so great a company as we were, amidst such a multiplicity of dangers and casualties, such variety of food, airs, and lodgings (very often none of the best), there was no one of us that came to any ill accident throughout our whole travels; and only one that fell sick by the consequences of the journey after our return. Which I esteem the less diminution to so singular a mercy, in regard that amongst so many of my dear friends and fellow travellers, it fell to my own share to be the sufferer.

Δόξα Θεῷ.

FINIS.

Since the Book was printed off, the two following Letters, relating to the same Subject, were communicated by the Reverend Mr. Osborn, Fellow of Exeter College; to whom they were sent by the Author, in answer to some Questions proposed by him.

SIR,

I RECEIVED your's of June 27, 1698, and returned you an answer to it in brief, about three months since; promising to supply what was then wanting, at some other opportunity: which promise I shall now make good. You desired an account of the Turks, and of our way of living amongst them. As to the former, it would fill a volume to write my whole thoughts about them. I shall only tell you at present, that I think they are very far from agreeing with that character which is given of them in Christendom; especially for their exact justice, veracity, and other mortal virtues: upon account of which, I have sometimes heard them mentioned with very extravagant commendations; as though they far exceeded Christian nations. But I must profess myself of another opinion: for the Christian religion, how much soever we live below the true spirit and excellency of it, must still be allowed to discover so much power upon the minds of its professors, as to raise them far above the level of a Turkish vir-

tue. It is a maxim that I have often heard from our merchants, that a Turk will always cheat when he can find an opportunity. Friendship, generosity, and wit, (in the English notion,) and delightful converse, and all the qualities of a refined and ingenuous spirit, are perfect strangers to their minds; though in traffic and worldly negotiations, they are acute enough: and are able to carry the accounts of a large commerce in their heads, without the help of books, by a natural arithmetic, improved by custom and necessity. Their religion is framed to keep up great outward gravity and solemnity, without begetting the least good tincture of wisdom or virtue in the mind. You shall have them at their hours of prayer (which are four a day always) addressing themselves to their devotions with the most solemn and critical washings, always in the most public places, where most people are passing; with most lowly and most regular prostrations, and a hollow tone; which are amongst them the great excellencies of prayer. I have seen them in an affected charity, give money to bird-catchers (who make a trade of it) to restore the poor captives to their natural liberty, and at the same time hold their own slaves in the heaviest bondage. And at other times they will buy flesh to relieve indigent dogs and cats; and yet curse you with famine and pestilence, and all the most hideous execrations: in which way these Eastern nations have certainly the most exquisite rhetoric of any people upon earth. They know hardly any pleasure but that

of the sixth sense. And yet with all this, they are incredibly conceited of their own religion, and contemptuous of that of others; which I take to be the great artifice of the devil, in order to keep them his own. They are a perfect visible comment upon our blessed Lord's description of the Jewish pharisees. In a word, lust, arrogance, covetousness, and the most exquisite hypocrisy complete their character. The only thing that ever I could observe to commend in them, is the outward decency of their carriage, the profound respect they pay to religion and to every thing relating to it, and their great temperance and frugality. The dearness of any thing is no motive in Turkey, though it be in England, to bring it into fashion.

As for our living amongst them, it is with all possible quiet and safety, and that is all we desire, their conversation being not in the least entertaining. Our delights are among ourselves; and here being more than forty of us, we never want a most friendly and pleasant conversation. Our way of life resembles, in some measure, the academical. We live in separate squares, shut up every night after the manner of colleges. We begin the day constantly, as you do, with prayers; and have our set times for business, meals, and recreations. In the winter, we hunt in the most delightful campaign twice a week; and in the summer, go as often to divert ourselves under our tents, with bowling, and other exercises: so that you see we want not divertisements, and these all

innocent and manly. In short, it is my real opinion, that there is not a society out of England, that for all good and desirable qualities, may be compared to this. But enough of this confusion, which I would have shortened, and put in better order, if I had had time.

March 10, 1698-9.

SIR,

As for your questions about Gehazi's posterity, and the Greek excommunications, I have little to answer; but yet I hope enough to give you and your friend satisfaction. When I was in the Holy Land, I saw several that laboured under Gehazi's distemper, but none that could pretend to derive his pedigree from that person. Some of them were poor enough to be his relations, particularly at Sichem (now Naplosu) there were no less than ten (the same number that was cleansed by our Saviour not far from the same place) that came a begging to us at one time. Their manner is to come with small buckets in their hands, to receive the alms of the charitable; their touch being still held infectious, or at least unclean. The distemper, as I saw it in them, was very different from what I have seen it in England; for it not only defiles the whole surface of the body with a foul scurf, but also deforms the joints of the body, particularly those of the wrists and ancles; making them swell with a gouty scrofulous substance, very loathsome to look upon. I thought their legs resembled those of old battered horses, such as are often seen in drays in England. The whole distemper indeed, as it there appeared, was so noisome, that it might well pass for the utmost corruption of the human body on this side the grave. And certainly the inspired pen-men could not have found out a fitter emblem, whereby

to express the uncleanness and odiousness of vice. But to return to Gehazi: it is no wonder if the descent from him be by time obscured, seeing the best of the Jews, at this time of day, are at a loss to make out their genealogies. But besides, I see no necessity in scripture for his line's being perpetuated. The term (*for ever*) is, you know, often taken in a limited sense in holy writ, of which the designation of Phineas's family to the priesthood, Numb. xxv. 13. may serve for an instance. His posterity, was, you know, cut entirely off from the priesthood, and that transferred to Eli (who was one of another line) about 300 years after.

I have inquired of a Greek priest, a man not destitute either of sense or probity, about your other question. He positively affirmed it, and produced an instance of his own knowledge in confirmation of it. He said, that about fifteen years ago, a certain Greek departed this life without absolution, being under the guilt of a crime, which involved him in the sentence of excommunication, but unknown to the church: he had Christian burial given him. And about ten years after, a son of his dying, they had occasion to open the ground near where his body was laid, in order to bury his son by him, by which means, they discovered his body as entire as when it was first laid in the grave. The shroud was rotted away, and the body naked and black, but perfectly sound. Report of this being brought to the bishop, he immediately suspected the cause

of it; and sent several priests (of whom the relator was one) to pray for the soul of the departed, and to absolve him at his grave; which they had no sooner done, but (as the relator goes on) the body instantly dissolved and fell into dust like slacked lime, and so (well satisfied with the effect of their absolution) they departed. This was delivered to me *verbo sacerdotis.* The man had hard fortune not to die in the Romish communion, for then, his body being found so entire, would have entitled him to saintship; for the Romanists, as I have both heard and seen, are wont to find out and maintain the relics of saints by this token. And the same sign, which proves an *anathema maranatha* amongst the Greeks, demonstrates a saint amongst the papists: perhaps both equally in the right.

April 12, 1700.

AN

ACCOUNT

OF

THE AUTHOR'S JOURNEY

FROM

ALEPPO TO THE RIVER EUPHRATES, THE CITY BEER, AND TO MESOPOTAMIA.

WE set out from Aleppo, April 17th, 1699, and steering east north east, somewhat less, we came in three hours and a half to Surbass.

Tuesday, April 18.—We came in three hours and a half to Bezay, passing by Bab, where is a good aqueduct, Dyn il Daab,* to which you descend by about thirty steps; and Lediff, a pleasant village. Our course thus far was east and by north. In the afternoon we advanced three hours further, course north east, to an old ruined place, formerly of some consideration, called Acamy: it is situated in the wilderness on a hill encompassed by a valley; it was large, and had the footsteps of some symmetry, good walls and buildings.

Wednesday, April 19.—We went east and by

* The district of Daab.

north, and in four hours arrived at Bambych. This place has no remnants of its ancient greatness but its walls, which may be traced all round, and cannot be less than three miles in compass. Several fragments of them remain on the east side, especially at the east gate; and another piece of eighty yards long, with towers of large square stone, extremely well built. On the north side I found a stone with the busts of a man and woman, large as the life; and under, two eagles carved on it. Not far from it, on the side of a large well, was fixed a stone with three figures carved on it, in basso relievo. They were two syrens, which twining their fishy tails together, made a seat, on which was placed sitting a naked woman, her arms and the syrens on each side mutually entwined.

On the west side is a deep pit of about 100 yards diameter. It was low, and had now water in it, and seemed to have had great buildings all round it, with the pillars and ruins of which it is now in part filled up; but not so much but that there was still water in it. Here are a multitude of subterraneous aqueducts brought to this city; the people attested no fewer than fifty. You can ride no where about the city without seeing them. We pitched by one about a quarter of a mile east of the city, which yields a fine stream; and emptying itself into a valley, waters it, and makes it extremely fruitful. Here, perhaps, were the pastures of the beasts designed for sacrifices. Here are now only a few poor inhabitants, though an-

ciently all the north side was well inhabited by Saracens, as may be seen by the remains of a noble mosque, and a bagnio a little without the walls. We were here visited by a company of Begdelies, who were encamped some hours further towards Euphrates, having about 1000 horse there.

Thursday, April 20.—For avoiding the Begdelies, we hired a guide, who conducted us a byway. We travelled north north east, over a desert ground, and came in three hours to a small rivulet called Sejour, which falls into the Euphrates about three hours below Jerabolus. In about two hours more we came to a fine fruitful plain, covered with extraordinary corn, lying between the hills and the river Euphrates. In about an hour and a half's travelling through this plain on the banks of the river, we came to Jerabolus. This place is of a semicircular figure, its flat side lying on the banks of Euphrates; on that side it has a high long mount, close by the water, very steep. It was anciently built upon (and at one end of it I saw fragments of) very large pillars, a yard and half diameter, and capitals and cornishes well carved. At the foot of the mount was carved on a large stone a beast resembling a lion, with a bridle in his mouth, and I believe anciently a person sitting on it; but the stone is in that part now broke away: the tail of the beast was couped.

Round about this place are high banks cast up,

and there is the footsteps of walls on them. The gates seem to have been well built: the whole was 2250 paces, that is, yards, in circumference. The river is here as large as the Thames at London; a long bullet-gun could not shoot a ball over it, but it dropt into the water. Here is found a large serpent which has legs and claws, called Woralla. I was told by a Turk, that a little below this place, when the river is low, may be seen the ruins of a stone bridge over the river; for my own part I saw it not, nor do I much rely on the Turk's veracity. The river seemed to be lately fallen very suddenly, for the banks were freshly wet, two yards and more above the water. It was here north and south.

Friday, April, 21.—We kept close on the banks of Euphrates, and in two hours and a half crossed a fine rivulet called Towzad; and in two hours more arrived over against Beer, and pitched on a flat, close by the river side. Observing the latitude of the place by my quadrant, I found the angle between the sun and the zenith to be 22 degrees; and the declination this day being 15 degrees 10 minutes, the whole is 37 degrees 10 minutes.

Saturday, April 22.—We continued at our station, not daring to cross the river, for fear of falling into the hands of the chiah of the bashaw of Urfa, who was then at Beer ordering many boats of corn down to Bagdal. We were sup-

plied at the same time with provisions by Sheck Assyne, to whom we made returns.

Sunday, April 23.—The chiah being now departed, Sheck Assyne invited us over to Beer: we crossed in a boat of the country, of which they have a great many, this being the great pass into Mesopotamia. The boats are of a miserable fabric, flat and open in the fore part, for horses to enter: they are large enough to carry about four horses each. Their way to cross is, by drawing up the boats as high as they know to be necessary, and then with wretched oars striking over, she falls a good way down by the force of the stream, before they arrive at the further side.

Having saluted Assyne, we were conducted to see the castle; which is a large old building on the top of a great long rock, separated by a great gulf or natural bottom, from the land. At first coming within the gates, which are of iron, we saw several large globes of stone about twenty inches diameter; and great axles of iron, with wheels, which were entire blocks of wood two feet thick in the nave, and cut somewhat to an edge toward the periphery; and screws to bend bows or engines, as also several brass field-pieces.

Ascending up the sides of the rock by a way cut obliquely, you come to the castle. At first entrance, you find a way cut under ground down to the river. In the castle, the principal things we saw were, first a large room full of old arms: I saw there glass bottles to be shot at the end of

arrows; one of them was stuck at the end of an arrow, with four pieces of tin by its sides, to keep it firm. Vast large cross bows, and beams, seemingly designed for battering rams; and Roman saddles and head pieces of a large size, some of which were painted; and some large thongs for bow-strings, and bags for slinging stones. But the jealousy of the Turks would not permit us to stay so long as would have been requisite for a perfect examination of these antiquities.

From the castle we returned to Assyne, and were civilly treated. In the evening we went up into the country of Mesopotamia. The hills are chalky and steep; and come close to the water side without a plain intervening, as it is upon the side of Syria; so that Beer stands on the side of a hill. However, it has a couple of fine streams that run over the top of the hill; one of which drives two mills, and so runs down to the city, which is well walled. In the side of the hill, there is a kane under ground, cut into the rock, with fifteen large pillars left to support its roof.

Monday, April 24.—We left Beer, and travelling west came in three hours to Nizib, a place well situated at the head of the Towzad. Here is an old small church, very strong and entire; only the cupola in the middle of the cross is broke down, and its space covered with leaves, to fit the place for a mosque. I believe the Turks made the places to which they turn in prayers, empty niches, to shew that they worshipped one invisible

God, not to be represented by images. In two hours we came from Nizib to a good Christian village called Uwur; and in an hour and half more, to a well in the desert.

Tuesday, April 25.—We travelled west near two hours; and came through a fine country, diversified into small hills and valleys, to a village called Adjia, having left Silam and two other villages on the right hand. At Adjia rises the river of Aleppo, from a large fountain, at once; and just above it runs the Sejour, which might be let into it by a short cut of ten yards. From Adjia our course was west north west. The banks of the Sejour are well planted with trees and villages. In two little hours we came to Antab, having crossed the Sejour at a bridge about three quarters of an hour before. Leaving the city on the right hand, we passed under its walls, and pitched about three quarters of an hour from it, on a plain field on the banks of the Sejour.

Antab stands mostly on a hill, having a castle on a round mount, at its north side, exactly resembling that of Aleppo, though much less. It has a very deep ditch round it; and at the foot of the mount within the ditch, is a gallery cut through the rock all round the castle, with portals for shot; and it is faced with stone walls, where the rock was not strong enough. The houses have generally no upper rooms; the bazars are large. I saw here a fine stone very much resembling por-

phyry; being of a red ground, with yellow specks and veins, very glossy. It is dug just by Antab.

Antab is doubtless *Antiochia penes Taurum:* in the skirts of which it stands, and is not far distant from the highest ridge: it is about two-thirds as big as Aleppo.

Wednesday, April 26.—We passed through a fruitful mountainous country, and came in seven hours and a quarter to Rowant castle. It stands on the top of a round steep hill, and has been strong for the times it was built in. It is probably a Saracen fabric, and is now in ruins. At the foot of the hill westward runs the river Ephreen; its course is south south west. Our course from Antab to Rowant was north west and by north.

Thursday, April 27.—We continued travelling through the mountains, which were now somewhat more uneven and precipitous, but watered every where with fine springs and rivulets. In about six hours we came to Corus; our course was south west, having crossed the Ephreen about two-thirds of an hour before. Just by Corus is the river Sabon, that is, Chor or Char, which encompasses most part of the city.

Corus stands on a hill, consisting of the city and castle. The city stands northerly; and from its north end ascending, you come at last to a higher hill to the southward, on which stands

Three Inscriptions over the Castle Gate of Corus.

+ΒΙΛΛΙCΑΒΙΟΥ CΤΗΑΤΕ
ΑΔΤΟΥΑΥΖΙΝΙΚΗΙΙ

+ΙΟΥCΤΙΝΙΑΝΟΥCΤΟΥ
ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΠΟΛΑ
ΤΑ ΕΤΗΦ ΕΥΔΩΡΑC
ΑΤΟΥ CΤΑCΠΟΛΑ:
ΤΑ ΕΤΗ

+ΟΥCΙΑ ΘΙΟΥΔΟ
ΝΕCΤΙΚΟΥΠΟΛΑΤΑ
ΕΤΗ ΑΤΩ ΘΕΟΥ ΧΑ

On a Stone amongst the grave stones near the Great Sepulchre at Corus.

D M
V·IBP VICTORI MM·LIINI
OLEC× VII×CL×EX×ZII×PR
POST× VIXIT×ANN×XXXVIII
MILITAVIT×ANN×XVI×AVR
MARTINVS×MIL×LEG×IIII
FL×FRATER×ET SECVNDVS
HERES×FRATRI×EXPR
O VINCIA×MOES×SVPER
REG ♡ VIMINAC
F×B×M×P ♡

Another in the same place very imperfect

AVR·VIND EX-
MILLE S VII CMX

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the castle. The whole is now in ruins, which seems to have been very large, walled very strongly with huge square stones. Within are observable the ruins, pillars, &c. of many noble buildings. On the west side there is a square enclosure of great capacity, compassed with good walls and five gates, which admitted into it; as one may discern by the ruins of them. I conjectured they might be the cathedral. Over the castle gate was written the three inscriptions as in the plate.

The middle inscription was over the middle of the portal; the other two on the top of the pilasters on the right and left hand.

Below the castle hill, to the southward, stands a noble old monument. It is six square, and opens at six windows above; and is covered with a pyramidical cupola. In each angle within is a pillar of the Corinthian order, of one stone; and there is a fine architrave all round just under the cupola, having had heads of oxen carved on it; and it ends at top with a large capital of the Corinthian order; near this several sepulchral altars, of which only one has a legible inscription, which you may see in the plate.

Friday, April 28.—We left Corus, and without the town, about half a mile south east, we descended down through a way cut obliquely on the side of a precipice, which leads to a bridge of seven arches, of a very old structure, over the river Sabon. And about a quarter of a mile further, we came to another bridge, of three very

large arches over the river Ephreen. These bridges are very ancient, and well built of square stone. Three pillars have an acute angle on the side against the stream, and a round buttress on the other side, and on both sides are niches for statues. They were well paved at top with large stones, and are doubtless, as well as that of the other side of the town, the work of the excellent and magnificent Theodorit.

From this bridge, in about three hours, with a course south south east, or south east and by south, we arrived at Jan-Bolads. From Jan-Bolads to Chillis is one hour and two-thirds, course north north east. Chillis is a large populous town, and has fifteen mosques that may be counted without the town: and it has large bazars. Many medals are found here, which seem to argue it to be ancient; but under what name I know not.

Aleppo bears from Jan-Bolads south and by east; Seck-Berukel south south west. An hour from Jan-Bolads is Azass. And two hours further, we lodged in the plain, which about Chillis and Azass is very wide, and no less fruitful. This country is always given to the validea, or grand seignior's mother.

Saturday, April 29.—We arrived by God's blessing safe in Aleppo, having travelled about five hours with a course south and by east.

Δόξα Θεῷ.

OF THE

VALLEY OF SALT,

WHICH IS ABOUT FOUR HOURS FROM

ALEPPO.

THIS valley is of two or three hours extent; we were three quarters of an hour in crossing one corner of it. It is of an exact level, and appears at a distance like a lake of water. There is a kind of a dry crust of salt all over the top of it; which sounds, when the horses go upon it, like frozen snow when it is walked upon. There are three or four small rivulets empty themselves into this place, and wash it all over, about autumn, or when the rains fall.

In the heat of the summer the water is dried off, and when the sun has scorched the ground, there is found remaining the crust of salt aforesaid; which they gather and separate into several heaps, according to the degrees of fineness; some being exquisitely white, others alloyed with dirt.

It being soft in some places, our horses hoofs struck in deep: and there I found in one part a soft brown clay, in another a very black one, which to the taste was very salt, though deep in the earth. Along on one side of the valley, viz. that

towards Gibul, there is a small precipice about two men's lengths, occasioned by the continual taking away the salt; and in this you may see how the veins of it lie. I broke a piece of it, of which that part that was exposed to the rain, sun, and air, though it had the sparks and particles of salt, yet it had perfectly lost its savour, as in St. Matthew, chap. v. The inner part, which was connected to the rock, retained its savour, as I found by proof.

In several places of the valley, we found that the thin crust of salt upon the surface, bulged up, as if some insect working under it had raised it; and taking off the part, we found under it efflorescences of pure salt shot out according to its proper figure.

At the neighbouring village Gibul, is kept the magazines of salt, where you find great mountains (as I may say) of that mineral, ready for sale. The valley is farmed of the grand seignior at 1200 dollars per annum.

END OF MAUNDRELL'S JOURNEY.

A

JOURNAL

FROM

GRAND CAIRO

TO

MOUNT SINAI,

AND BACK AGAIN,

IN COMPANY WITH SOME MISSIONARIES DE PROPAGANDA FIDE AT GRAND CAIRO.

TRANSLATED FROM A MANUSCRIPT

WRITTEN BY THE PREFETTO OF EGYPT,

BY

THE RIGHT REV. ROBERT CLAYTON,

LORD BISHOP OF CLOGHER.

TO THE

SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES,

LONDON.

GENTLEMEN,

BEING possessed of the original Journal from Grand Cairo to Mount Sinai, mentioned by my worthy friend Dr. Pococke, in his Travels through the East;* which was written by the Prefetto of the Franciscans in Egypt, who set out from the Convent de Propaganda fide at Grand Cairo, A. D. 1722, I think proper to communicate to you a translation of it, in hopes of exciting you, who are now erected into a Society of Antiquaries, to make some inquiry into those ancient characters, which, as we learn from it, are discovered in great numbers in the wilderness of Sinai, at a place well

*"In one of the roads from the convent to Suez, there is exactly such another stone as the rock of Massa and Meribah in Rephidim, with the same sort of openings, all down, and the signs where the water ran. I was desirous to pass by it on my return, but unfortunately was led another way. I asked the Arabs about it, who told me it was likewise called the Stone of Moses, and that they judged it had the same virtues as the other. The first account I had of it, I can very much depend upon, being from a manuscript journal, writ by the present Prefetto of Egypt from the Propaganda fide, who went this journey with an English gentleman now in London."—*Pococke's Descr. of the East*, vol. i. p. 147.

known by the name of Gebel el Mokatab, or the *Written Mountains*, which are so particularly described in this Journal, that it is impossible for an inquisitive traveller to be at a loss in his searches after them. By carefully copying a good quantity of these letters, I should apprehend, that the ancient Hebrew character, which is now lost, may be recovered.

I do not suppose such a copy of them, as would be sufficient for the end proposed, could be taken by any traveller in the time ordinarily allowed for a journey between Cairo and Mount Sinai; but I imagine, if a person was sent on purpose to live for some time at Tor, on the coast of the Red-sea, he might make such an acquaintance with the Arabs living near the Written Mountains, by the civility of his behaviour, and by frequently making them small presents, that it would be no great difficulty in six months, or thereabouts, to attain the desired end.

As this will require a good capacity and industry in the person employed, and likewise must be attended with some expence, I do not know to whom I can apply more properly, than to your honourable society, to look out for a suitable person to be employed on this errand. As to the expence, I am willing to bear any proportion of it which you shall think proper, in order to have this design thoroughly effected.

AN EXACT

JOURNAL

FROM

CAIRO TO MOUNT SINAI,

BEGUN THE FIRST OF SEPTEMBER, 1722.

Sept. 1.—ALL our companions having assembled at my house, viz. Choga Abrahim Mossaad, Jacob Uhabez Abdelaziz, merchants: also Mons. Beraoue, the son of a French merchant, and three brothers, James of Bohemia, missionary *de propaganda fide*, Elias of Aleppo, of the Society of Jesus, and Charles of the Franciscan Order, superior of the Capuchins; about three o'clock in the afternoon, after a brotherly embrace, and having taken leave of all the rest of my domestics and friends, we went to the convent of the monks of Mount Sinai that dwell here at Cairo: immediately going from whence, we arrived at the famous gate called Babel Naaser;* where we made some stay to take an accurate view of that ancient and magnificent piece of building; and in the mean time the whole caravan being assembled, we departed, under the conduct of one of the sur-

* Or Baab el Naasar. See Oct. 16.

bassi, and accompanied by several orientals who were friends to the Cairo merchants, directed our course due east, among those ruins and ancient monuments which remain of the city of the Sun,* as is most probable, which are now every where interspersed with Turkish sepulchres; and after a journey of a good half hour from the gate of the city, we arrived at a place called Ukalt Elbahaar,† to which the aforementioned buildings, towers, or other ruins extend; which time has, for the most part consumed. In this place the monks of Mount Sinai have an ancient house, formerly sufficiently large and famous, and built of hewn stone; but unless it be soon repaired by those monks, it will add to the number of its neighbouring ruins. Here we staid all night with our camels and other beasts, being tolerably well accommodated; and only incommoded by the noisy sonnets of our eastern friends, who, according to the custom of the country, designed these their unharmonious vociferations as a compliment.

Sept. 2.—At break of day we all arose, and having loaded our fifty camels (for of that number our caravan consisted,) we took leave of our Cairo friends, and about five in the morning departed from this place, some on horses, some on camels, and some on dromedaries; but I, for curiosity, as well as conveniency sake, made myself to be

* Or Heliopolis.

† Or Ukalt el Bahaar. See Oct. 15.

carried after the manner of the Turks in a mohie, but sitting after our own fashion; two of which seats are fixed on a camel, hanging down on either side, carrying two persons: this kind of carriage, when persons are accustomed to it, is convenient enough. But Mr. Beraoue unfortunately chose a fine horse, which as he was not able to manage, would have broke his neck, if he had not soon dismounted, and changed it for a camel.

And pursuing our journey, after a good hour we passed through a place called by the inhabitants Sibel alem: the part of it that remains to the right hand of the road, is very agreeable, consisting of a tower or mosch surrounded with trees, with ripe dates hanging down from them; which afforded a pleasant prospect.

After three quarters of an hour we passed by another place called Matharca, which lay on the left hand of the road very pleasantly situated in the midst of trees: and in this place, the learned for the most part agree, formerly stood the city of the Sun;* of whose antiquities there is nothing now remaining, but one obelisk, sixty-six feet high, and having each side, which is seven feet eight inches broad, engraved all over with hieroglyphical characters. It stands about half an Italian mile beyond the village. This obelisk is erect, but there is another near it, of the same magnitude, which lies upon the ground.

* *Quære,* How does this agree with what he said in his last day's journey?

Continuing our route for an hour and a quarter, we passed by another village called El Marge, which lies on the right hand of the road, and, like those before mentioned, was surrounded with palm-trees. And after another hour, that is, about nine o'clock, having come to a place called Chanke; where we pitched our tents, and refreshed ourselves, after having suffered much from the burning heat of the sun. Here the inhabitants of the place, who are called Bedwins, live in tents, after the manner of the Arabians. It was piteous to behold the poverty of those habitations under a poor tent, I might indeed say under a black piece of coarse canvas, subdivided into three apartments; in the most retired of which the women have residence; in the middle some of the men and women live promiscuously; and in the outermost are kept all the beasts and cattle of the field, the cocks and hens, and goats. Which seemed to me to be a lively representation of the manner of habitation practised by the ancient patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, &c.

Sept. 3.—After three o'clock in the afternoon we departed from this place, and in about an hour's journey, lost sight of that chain of mountains,* which we saw towards the south, at a great dis-

* Possibly it was somewhere hereabouts that Moses turned to go and encamp before Etham, when, according to the observation of Pharaoh, he seemed to be entangled in the land; or in that ridge of mountains which lay towards the south. See Exod. xiii. 20. xiv. 2, 3. and Shaw's Travels, p. 345.

tance from us. And a little after, we saw, towards the north, hills of sand, appearing not unlike our hills in Italy when covered with snow, and which continued in view for three hours; but at length, when it was late in the evening, we lost sight of these also: I am told, however, they reach all the way to Damiata. Here then we halted at about a quarter after eight, remaining all night in the open air; not far from another caravan, more numerous than ours, which had stopped in this very place, though it had set out before us.

Sept. 4.—Early in the morning, about half an hour after four, we departed from hence, directing our journey always either due east, or east-north-east, through a number of little hills which were interspersed here and there; till we stopped, about half an hour after ten, in an agreeable spot of ground, adorned with a beautiful verdure, where we dined; and pursuing our journey from thence about one in the afternoon, about five we came to a parcel of ragged mountains called Huhebi, situated towards the south; and after we had continued our route for three hours more we rested about eight o'clock.

Sept. 5.—Having risen at midnight along with the moon, we departed from this place about half an hour after one; and making our way over hills, as the day appeared we perceived we had passed the summit of them, and were upon the descent, which declined very gently and gradu-

ally. At three quarters after seven we passed by Hagirut, on the left hand of which are two places where there is water that is barely tolerable for men to drink, but full good enough for the camels. The Arabs often take possession of these places in the time of war.

Soon after we had passed by this place, still continuing on the descent, we discovered the Red Sea, and some ships in port, two of which were then actually departing towards Gidda; and having passed much such another place at Hagirut, called Birel Suess, where there is good water for camels, we came at length safe and sound about three quarters after ten in the morning to Suess, and leaving the gate of the city upon our right hand, we pitched our tents on the outside of the walls, on the sea shore, with the city to the south of us, and the sea to the north-east; and remained under our tents during the heat of the day.

The city of Suess is small and inconsiderable, and its walls half in ruins, with three small turrets or moschs. It is situated in 29 degrees 50 minutes of north latitude, at the extremity of the Red Sea, having the sea to the east, and the port to the south, which is surrounded on the east side by an island, and in which there were then ten ships preparing to set sail by the first opportunity, whose companies at present composed the greatest part of the inhabitants of that city. When they are gone, the remainder of the inhabitants return towards Cairo, leaving only one or two persons behind to guard the place; and all this on ac-

count of the great scarcity of water and provisions, for nothing will grow thereabouts, and there is no water nearer than six or seven hours journey towards the north-east; to bring which the camels set out about four o'clock in the afternoon, and arriving about midnight, as soon as they have filled their vessels they return, and generally get back to Suess about eight o'clock in the morning. A small vessel of water is sold for three or four medinas,* and the larger vessels for eight or ten medinas, according to the demand for it.

Not far from our tents there was a little hill, or rather a gentle rising ground, with the ruins of some ancient buildings, which they say are the remains of some famous city. There are also on this hill two cannons which lie on the ground, and which upon viewing narrowly, I perceived were cast by the Turks, because upon the smaller one were Arabic characters, expressing the year when they were made, which, upon computation, I found to be about one hundred and ninety-seven years ago. The less was ten feet long, and its bore about seven inches and three quarters French measure; the larger, of a more ordinary kind of workmanship, was near twice as long, being nineteen feet long, and its bore seven inches and a half. There were also several other cannons lying in the city, made of brass, but cast with more skill than those before mentioned.

* A medina is 1*d.* ⅓ English money.

Sept. 6.—We set out from this place early in the morning, and to avoid going a great way about, round the northern point of this arm of the Red Sea, we went by boat from this part of Africa to that part of Asia which lies directly over against it, at the distance of one quarter of an Italian mile. In our passage, we actually met some vessels going to Suess to purchase the water, which, as I mentioned before, was brought thither to be sold, on camels' backs from the mountains.

And now having passed the Red Sea, the heat of the sun being excessively great, we again loaded our camels, and departed from our landing place about eleven o'clock, and after a journey of three hours to the east-south-east, leaving some mountains* at a great distance towards our left hand, and having the Red Sea on our right, we rested about two o'clock near certain fountains called Ain el Musa, or the Fountains of Moses, situated among little hills; which I went to, and found the water tolerably good, but with a little saltness; and no sooner does it rise out of the bowels of the earth, but it is lost again in the sand, or, as I may say, is in the day time instantly absorbed by the burning and thirsty sand. At night it seems to flow further than it does by day, as may be seen by the traces it leaves behind; and I believe, if the place were cleansed (it being very

* The mountains and castle of Sedur or Shur. See Gen. xv. 18. and Pococke's Travels, p. 139.

full of dirt and mud,) the water would be sweeter, and there would be a larger current, for there are three springs which run not far from each other, into which the Arabs suffer the camels to enter when they drink.

From these fountains may be plainly seen a wonderful aperture* in the mountains on the other side of the Red Sea, through and from which the children of Israel entered into the Red Sea, when Pharaoh and his host were drowned; which aperture is situated west-south-west from these fountains of Moses: and the breadth of the sea hereabouts, where the children of Israel passed it, is about four or five hours journey. But from Suess by land to these fountains would be seven or eight hours journey.

The place where we then were is called Sedur: we rested ourselves in it till sun-set. At last, about a quarter after six, we set forward on our journey, and going in the dark through the desert of Sedur, we wandered here and there out of our road, till we stopped about midnight to take a little rest upon a small hill of sand, where they say there are abundance of serpents; but, thanks to God, we received no harm.

Sept. 7.—About three quarters after six in the morning we again began our travels, journeying

* Called by Moses Piha-hiroth, or the mouth, or opening of Hiroth, Exod. xiv. 2. and by the Geeks, Clysma. Philost. lib. iii. cap. 6.

through the desert of Vardan,* still moving more and more from the Red Sea. In this desert we stopped to refresh ourselves, about three quarters after ten, or about three leagues distance from the Red Sea. And after dinner (here I was very much out of order) we again set forward about three o'clock, travelling through the plains in excessive hot weather, till eight at night, when we rested.

Sept. 8.—From this place we departed about three o'clock in the morning, making our way over several hills and vales, which brought us towards the mountain Gebel Hamam el Faran.† And about seven o'clock we found several trees, and some verdant spots of earth, in the midst of the barren sand; and there came from the mountains a most delightful breeze, which sensibly refreshed my bowels; so that I was surprisingly restored to my health.

At length we entered into an exceeding pleasant

* Or Ouardan. Pococke's Trav. p. 139.

† In this journal of Oct. 8, these mountains are described under the character of the Mountains of Hamam el Pharaone, or the baths of Pharao; which I suppose to be a mistake in the people of the country, who, not knowing why these baths should be called the baths of Faran, or rather Paran, have given them the name of the baths of Pharao. But in the times of Moses this whole country was known by the name of the wilderness of Paran, Gen. xxi. 21. Num. x. 12, xii. 16, xiii. 3, 26. 1 Sam. xxv. 1. whence Mount Sinai was also called Mount Paran, Deut. xxxiii. 2. Hab. iii. 3. and therefore probably these baths were originally the baths of Paran. See Pococke's Trav. p. 139.

and agreeable wood, at the foot of the aforesaid mountain of Hamam el Faran, and rested ourselves at three quarters after eight, in a place called Garondu; which is a small, but most delightful valley, full of certain trees with which it is beautified, and which emit a most agreeable odour, not unlike the smell of the balsam of Peru. There are also in this place many palm-trees, and in the bottom of the vale is a rivulet flowing from the aforementioned mountain, the water of which is tolerably good, and in sufficient plenty, but is however not free from some bitterness, though it is very clear. After it has run through this valley for some hours towards the west, it then empties itself into the Red Sea. Many think this to be the place mentioned Exod. xv. 23. where it is said of the Israelites, that *when they came to Marah, they could not drink of the waters of Marah, for they were bitter: till the Lord shewed unto Moses a tree, which when he had cast into the waters, the waters were made sweet.*

Sept. 9.—We departed from this delicious place at one o'clock in the morning; but behold, scarce were we got out of the valley, when our guides found that two of their camels were missing (they had been stolen by some thieves during the night time,) and therefore the caravan stopped, till they went in search of their lost camels; but not being able to hear any tidings of them, we proceeded on our journey all that night and the next day till a quarter after eleven, without suffering

any great inconveniencies from the hills and vales we passed over, upon which we met with several green tufts, and prickly trees, called in Arabic *chasem*, though on either hand of us our road was bounded with huge and rugged mountains. And having taken a moderate dinner under one of these mountains of marble, we departed from thence at three quarters after three; and continuing our journey still in a sandy, but tolerably even road, though between hills and mountains on every side, we came, toward the setting of the sun, to a large and spacious plain, which had a gentle ascent up to it, but was itself environed by mountains. After we had passed this, we came about nine o'clock at night, by an easy descent, to a valley called Neso, which was about a league distant from an Arab village of the same name, where was a spring of exceeding good and delightful water.

Sept. 10.—Having pitched our tents, we remained here, in order to provide ourselves with water, till four o'clock in the evening; at which time we again set forward on our journey; and as soon as we had passed the aforementioned valley, we began to rise over hills and mountains by a tolerable easy ascent, till, having as it were overcome the mountain, we rested at a place called Chamil.

Sept. 11.—In the morning, at a quarter after five, we departed from this place, and through a

rugged road, in which there lay a great many blocks of marble, with great difficulty we got up on a very high mountain. In this road, on each hand of us, were exceeding high mountains, of the most beautiful granates of various colours, but chiefly red. At length, about three quarters after eleven, we reached the summit of the mountain, or rather of the mountains, but with great difficulty; and from this place we were able to discover Mount St. Catharine. And from thence descending by a tolerably easy road, we came to a valley in a plain, where, at a place called El Barah, we stopped at three quarters after one; and having made a short meal under a tree, we set forward again about two o'clock; going up the mountain by a road neither very steep nor rugged: which when we had gotten the better of, we began to descend again by a tolerably open road to a valley between two exceeding high mountains of marble. And as soon as we had arrived at this valley, which was about sun-set, we immediately turned our course to the left, where we also came to another valley, beset with high mountains on either side; and, having got to the top of the hill, we halted, about half an hour after seven, at a place called Marah, where we staid all night, greatly distressed with the sharpness and severe coldness of the air. From this place to Mount Sinai the road is tolerably even and pleasant, with mountains of granate marble on either side.

Sept. 12.—Having risen a little after midnight, we departed from this place about half an hour after two, and going through a sandy road, which lay in a valley between mountains, we came about sun-rise to a most pleasant and agreeable place called Barak, where was a very delightful wood, which appeared the more charming, because hitherto our road had lain only over rocks, hills, and mountains, the very sight of which alone was sufficient to terrify the traveller. And having amused ourselves for the space of an hour with the delightfulness of this wood, we again proceeded on our journey, which led us twisting and twining between rugged mountains, sometimes eastward, sometimes northward, and sometimes southward, though we never were out of our way. And about eight o'clock we came to a rock, which stands by itself, where the Turks say the prophet Mahomet rested himself; and where, when he attempted to sit down, the rock yielded under him like the softest wax, and formed itself into the shape of a seat for him (there appears indeed a little hollow in the stone, which may have given rise to this tradition,) and on that account the Turks approach the place with great reverence, stroaking the stone with the palms of their hands, and kissing it with their lips.

And now continuing our journey towards Mount Sinai, in order to go the best road, we took a great circuit towards the left hand, though there is another shorter and more direct road; yet because there are some steep ascents and descents in

it, our guides chose the left hand road, though the longer, as being better for the camels. And about three quarters after nine, as we were passing by a mosch, where a certain shiech Saleh was buried, who is held by the Turks in great veneration, several of our guides and passengers went thither to receive a benediction; and that the camels and the rest of the beasts might be partakers of it, they brought from thence a small quantity of sand with which they sprinkled them.

At length, about mid-day we discovered some square buildings in the neighbourhood of Mount Sinai, which, as I was informed, the Arabs make use of as repositories for their corn: and on the other side, upon the left hand, we discovered the garden belonging to the convent, full of trees, which is situated just at the foot of Mount Sinai. And going in a south-west direction, when we came just over against the aforesaid garden, we saw another vale lie open to the south-east, in the middle of which, at the distance of half an hour, stands the convent of the holy Mount Sinai; to which all of us, partly out of devotion, and partly because of the difficulty of the road, ascended on foot between two exceeding high mountains, that to the north-east called Mount St. Bestin,* and the other to the right called Horeb or Choreb. In the middle between these two mountains is situated the convent of Mount Sinai, in twenty-eight degrees of north latitude: it is built in an oblong

* *Qu.* St. Episteme. Pococke's Travels, vol. i. p. 143, 147.

figure, with only one great door, which directly faces the north-west, and looks into that vale through which we came. The wall of the convent towards the north-west, as well as that to the south-east, are equally two hundred and four feet long of French measure. And the other two, one of which faces the south-west, and the other the north-east, are each two hundred and forty-five feet long, being for the most part built of square stones six feet and one-third broad: but the walls are of an unequal height, according to the inequality of the foundation. I measured the corner which looks towards the west, and it was forty-five feet high.

And forasmuch as the great door is always walled up, to prevent the incursions of the Arabs, immediately after the entrance of a new archbishop, which happened this very year, every other person who is desirous of going into the convent, must be drawn up with a rope to a great window, thirty feet high from the ground, in that part of the wall which looks to the north-east. And when one is got into the convent, there is nothing of curiosity to be seen, all the buildings and edifices, especially those which concern the friars or the religious, and the smaller chapels, being built of rough bricks, in great confusion and irregularity, without either symmetry or order, making here and there crooked and dark passages, with several ascents and descents: only the building of the great church of the Transfiguration of our Saviour Jesus Christ may be con-

sidered as worthy our observation. It was built, they say, by the emperor Justinian; and is in length eighty feet, and in breadth fifty-three: but the breadth is diminished by a wall on either side at nine feet distance from the outward wall, for the conveniency of chapels which are made in it, as I shall hereafter mention; so that there remains only thirty-five feet in the clear. In this great aisle are three rows of pillars forming three naves, and the pavement is finely adorned with variety of figures in different kinds of marble. But the great altar, is after the custom of the Greeks, entirely gilt.

The presbytery is of an oval figure both within and without; and adorned with Mosaic work representing the Transfiguration of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and on the outside is the statue of the emperor Justinian, who was the founder of the church. Before the presbytery are four candlesticks, two of which are very magnificent, being six feet high, and made of brass richly ornamented; and of the like workmanship there are two more hanging down in the middle of the church, which are capable of holding several candles. There are besides many lamps hanging up and down in the church, some of silver and some of gold; the most remarkable are those that hang in the presbytery, which are for the most part all of gold; but that which hangs in the great altar is also set with jewels.

Next to this church of the Transfiguration is

the little chapel of the Bush,* which stands on the place where our Lord appeared unto Moses in a flame of fire out of the bush, as described Exod. iii. 2, and immediately adjoins to the wall of the presbytery. This chapel is ten feet broad, and seventeen feet long; the pavement of it is adorned with the same kind of work as that of the church, and the walls were porcelain: there are in it several lamps both of gold and silver. It was built, they say, by queen Helena; and the place where the bush grew is supposed to be directly under the altar, and is covered with plates of silver; over which stands two large silver candlesticks, eight feet high. On the other side of this chapel are two other chapels; that to the south is called the chapel of the Seventy Martyrs, and that to the north is the chapel of St. James.

When you come into the great church, there are on the south side three chapels; the first that of St. John the Evangelist, the second of St. Simon the Stylite, and the third of the Saints Cosma and Damianus. And on the other side towards the north, there are also three more, viz. first of St. Andipe, secondly, of the Saints Constantine and Helena, and the third of St. Mariana. This whole church is covered with lead.

Besides this church and these chapels, there are seventeen other little churches or chapels si-

* It is from this piece of history that this part of Mount Horeb is called Mount Sinai, the Hebrew for a bush being *sene*.

tuated here and there in the convent: 1. that of St. Peter and St. Paul, which is tolerably large and roomy; 2. St. George; 3. St. Stephen; 4. St. Michael the archangel; 5. St. Basil, Gregory, and Chrysostome; 6. Demetrius the martyr; 7. St. Nicholas; 8. St. Moses and Aaron; 9. St. Sergius Wachus; 10. St. John the Baptist; 11. St. Antony the abbot; 12. of the five martyrs, Eustratius, Euxendius, Barbarius, Orestus, and Eugenius; 13. St. John the Evangelist; 14. St. Catharine; 15 and 16. two episcopal chapels; 17. one in the garden where the friars are buried. And besides all these chapels, there is a mosch with a turret for the Turks, which stands near the western door of the great church; for the preservation of which, they say, they have several immunities granted them under the hand of the prophet Mahomet. There is nothing else in the convent remarkable.

There is no record when this convent was built, except what remains on a stone over the great door, the inscription on which is in Arabic characters so ancient, that none of us could read them, except the year, ομμ, which denotes 526. This stone, according to the tradition of the fathers of the convent, first stood over the chapel of the Bush, and was placed there by St. Helena; but after the great church, and the walls of the convent were built, this stone was moved out of its ancient place, and fixed in the wall where it now stands. But in my opinion, this history is without foundation, because St. Helena lived in the

fourth century, whereas, the aforementioned inscription belongs to the sixth century: I rather think, therefore, that this stone was engraved and fixed up by the order of Justinian, who was the founder of the convent.

When we first came into the convent, we were received by the fathers and brothers of the convent with the greatest affection and regard, and especially by the archbishop Jaanikius, who was the superior and president of the place; and who gave us a very elegant supper, and assigned us very convenient apartments, consisting of five chambers, in a part of the convent that was newly built; and also for our better accommodation, indulged us with the liberty of going when we pleased into the garden; which is not permitted even to the monks. And we having there pitched a tent, dined and supped in it every day while we staid.

The aforesaid garden is situated on the outside of the walls of the convent, to the north-west; to which there is a passage under ground from the convent with iron gates to it. This garden is sufficiently spacious, and very well supplied with good water, with which it is daily watered, and by that means produces great quantities of all sorts of plants, and herbs, and trees; such as almonds, apples, peaches, olives, figs, pomegranates, pears, and in particular most delicious grapes, both red and white: and as this month happened to be the season for ripe grapes, as well as many other fruits, we gave a loose to our ap-

petites; and the air of the place being exceeding fine and wholesome, indulged our palates with great freedom and luxury.

The temperature of the air seemed to me as moderate, as if I had been in one of the most temperate climates of France in the month of September; the heat of the day not being excessive, nor the night air insufferably cold. However, I cannot but think that the heat of this place in summer, as well as the cold in winter, must be almost insupportable, since, during the winter season, the snow falls here in great abundance.

Sept. 13.—This day being Holy Sunday, we were invited to attend at church, as we usually did on other days, where the archbishop himself officiated, and sang the mass clothed in his *pontificalibus*, wearing on his head a sort of imperial crown made in silver, of exquisite workmanship; with the rest of the ministers that attended him, in very sumptuous apparel, which when ended, we dined in the common refectory of the convent, with the archbishop and the rest of the monks, who eat only of one dish. After dinner, all of us standing up, we took each a moderate piece of bread, cut from one loaf, and drank also all out of one cup, the archbishop beginning first. When all had drunk, we broke up, and departed. This ceremony is observed as a mark of mutual love and charity.

Sept. 15.—At two in the afternoon we went out of the convent to see the holy places thereabouts; and as soon as we got out we began to ascend the mountain, which is made tolerably convenient by the means of stone steps cut in it up to Mount Sinai, to the number of fifteen thousand (the way to it is directly southward:) and after an ascent of a small half hour we came to a most delicious fountain of cold water, which springs directly out of the rock, formed here into a kind of grotto. The Greeks tell many wonderful stories of this water, but as they seem to me to be without foundation, I think it more advisable not to repeat them.

Going on further for another half hour, we came to a small church or chapel, dedicated to the blessed Virgin Mary; and proceeding from hence by the steps, came to a narrow part of the road adorned with a gate; where, they say, many confessionary priests used formerly to sit, to hear the confessions of the pilgrims that came to visit these places, and were not permitted to proceed any further, till they had obtained remission of their sins; so that being made clean by the participation of this sacrament, they might proceed to obtain a benediction from the Lord, and mercy from God our Saviour, repeating as they went, the third verse of the xxivth Psalm, *Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord? and who shall stand in his holy place? Even he that hath clean hands, and a pure heart, &c.*

As soon as we had passed the gate, we saw on

our right hand a very high mountain towards the west, being almost perpendicular over us; near the summit of which there grew, as it were in despite of nature, a beautiful green tree, which appeared as if it grew out of a wall. And at about the distance of another quarter of an hour, we came to another gate, which when we had passed, we entered into a beautiful plain, where are two delightful cypress trees, and two olive trees, near to a well of sweet water, which, as they say, is only a collection of water that is made by the winter snows and rains. And to this part of Mount Horeb it was that Elias the prophet fled from the face of Jezebel, as is mentioned, 1 Kings xix. 2, where it is said, that, when he arrived at the Mount of God, *he came thither to a cave, and lodged there;* which cave exists to this very day, and is situated at the foot of Mount Sinai, and is now inclosed in a church built of red and white granate marble; the entrance into which is from the west. The dimensions of this cave are, in length five feet, in depth four feet, and height four and a half; which when we had visited, we returned to the well, and lodged all night under the olive trees. This plain where we lay was entirely surrounded with mountains, that formed two valleys, one of them extending itself to the south-south-west, and leading directly to the convent of the Forty Martyrs; the other stretching to the north-west.

Sept. 16.—Early in the morning, before break-

of day, we began to ascend the holy Mount Sina from the aforesaid church of St. Elias, and found the ascent to be very sharp; so that unless the afore-mentioned steps had been made in the hill, by laying broad stones one upon another, we should have found the ascent to be exceeding difficult, it being much more steep than the ascent of the preceding day. The course of our road lay directly towards the south; and after an ascent of three quarters of an hour, we were shewed the place, a little out of the road to the left hand, where the Mahometans say that Mahomet, together with his camel, was taken up by the angel Gabriel into heaven; and that this camel was of such a size, that it stood with one of its feet at Mecca, another at Damascus, a third at Cairo, and the fourth at Mount Sinai; where still remains the mark made by the impression of his foot in the very marble rock. However the Greek monks acknowledge that this mark was made by themselves, to gain the more veneration from the Turks for this holy mountain, if not on account of its own sanctity, and the wonderful works performed there by God, yet at least on account of this miraculous impression of the camel's foot. Accordingly it has prevailed on all Mahometans to treat this place with the highest regard.

At length, after a small quarter of an hour, we arrived on the holy Mount Sinai, and as soon as we had got on the plain, which is on the top of it, we immediately saw a church and a Turkish mosch. Formerly indeed there was a large church

built upon this place, which almost covered and occupied as it were the whole plain; but this was destroyed by the Turks, who left only one part, towards the north, for the use of the Christians. and reserved the other, towards the south, for the use of the Mahometans.

Before you come to the church of the Christians there is a cave in the rock adjoining to it, into which there is a very narrow entrance. In this place, the tradition is, that Moses saw the glory of the Lord, as mentioned, Exod. xxxiii. 21. *And the Lord said, behold there is a place by me, and thou shalt stand upon a rock; and it shall come to pass while my glory passeth by, that I will put thee in a clift of the rock, and I will cover thee with mine hand while I pass by; and I will take away mine hand, and thou shalt see my back parts, but my face shall not be seen.* And accordingly it is said, by common tradition, that it was in this clift of the rock that Moses was hid by the Lord; but Moses, nevertheless, that he might have a better view of the forementioned glory, having raised his head and body on high, left his entire figure impressed in the marble rock, to perpetuate the memory of this miracle. So that in the lower part of the rock there remains the impression, as if it had been in melted wax, of his knees* and both his hands, and

* *Quære.* Might not the same chissels that engraved the impression of the foot of Mahomet's camel, have engraved those also of the knees and hands of Moses? &c.

in the upper part, the impression of his back and one half of his face.

And going further on this plain, we entered into the church that is contiguous to the rock just mentioned, which church is subdivided into two chapels: in the larger the Greeks perform divine service, and in the other the Roman Catholics; and in this place, they say, it was that Moses received the two tables of testimony, as mentioned Exod. xxxi. 18. *And the Lord gave Moses in Mount Sinai two tables of testimony, tables of stone, written with the finger of God.* But on the other side of the mount, as I said, towards the south-south-west, stands the Turkish mosch, built in the form of an oblong, in which are hung up several vessels filled with myrrh, and other oblations which are customary with the Turks, who hold this place in the highest veneration; and I believe this mosch may be about seventy paces distant from the Christian church, the superfices of this plain on the top of Mount Sinai not being very large.

Under the eastern part of this mosch there is another cave, greater than that of St. Elias, in which, they say, Moses commonly dwelt when he was upon the top of this holy mount. The door of this cave looks towards the valley which extends itself towards the south-west; and in this valley stands Rephidim, where mention is made, Exod. xvii. 1, that the Israelites murmured for want of water. From this mountain there is a fair prospect of Mount St. Catharine, lying to-

wards the south-west, and of the Red Sea towards the south and west. After we had each of us performed our devotions, we immediately descended again towards the well on Mount Horeb, from whence we last came.

And after we had dined, we departed from thence, at eleven o'clock, through the valley that extends itself towards the north-west, which conducted us, as it were in a circle, towards the south. In this journey we met with several places that were formerly inhabited, as also with some churches; the most remarkable is that of St. Pantaleon; over which, near the summit of the mountain, on the left hand, towards the south-east, there is a cave, in which two kings' sons spent their lives in performing rigid penances. And a little further from this church, we began to descend a very steep mountain for a whole hour; and when we came into the valley, we found a convent, which is called the convent of the Forty Martyrs.

The convent of the Forty Martyrs is situated in the midst of a vale, having Mount Sinai on the east, and Mount St. Catharine's on the west. But before I had entered the convent, two Arabs came up to me, and saluted me very amicably, and after they had lighted their match from my pipe, left me to wait at some distance for the arrival of a monk that was our guide, who had staid behind with the rest of our companions, for I had come hither alone, having outwalked the rest; but upon their arrival, the two Arabs stop-

ped them, and threatened to fire among them, if they did not deliver up the monk who was their conductor, and oblige him to come out from among them; which when it was done, they took him, and bound him, and carried him off to the neighbouring mountains; saying to the rest, "De-" part in peace, for we have no ill-will to you, " but have a reckoning to make up with this ras-" cal of a monk;" who followed them without attempting to resist.

This affair gave my companions a great deal of concern; for though they seemed able to have rescued the monk, yet they well knew, that if those two Arabs had made any noise, they would, upon the least notice, have had an hundred more come to their assistance. For when two young Greeks, who were well armed, were going, contrary to the opinion of the rest, to the relief of the monk, the Arabs began immediately to fire at us; upon which we all retired instantly towards the convent, and left the monk in their hands, with whom they soon made up their reckoning, and paid him in stripes the account which they had to make up with the convent, of which he was the interpreter and procurator.

The convent of the Forty Martyrs has a small church, and but very indifferent accommodations for lodging; only the garden is large and handsome, and well stored with all kinds of fruit, and is surrounded as it were with a wood of olive-trees. There is likewise a reservoir of good rain-water, and a small spring of fresh water, which running

through it from the mountains, waters the garden and all the adjacent valley.

Sept. 17.—Early this morning, those of our company who were hale and strong, departed to go up the mountain of St. Catharine; but I, with about half the company, staid behind in the convent. The history of which journey is as follows: as soon as they were departed out of the convent, they began their journey towards the south-west, and after half an hour, they began to ascend a very rough mountain, and difficult of ascent; for as there were no steps formed upon it, but the whole way covered with small trundling stones, these gave way under the feet. In this road there is abundance of curious stones, and pendent rocks on either side, which are wonderfully marked by nature with the most beautiful veins, shooting forth in the resemblance of trees, whose branches are so very minute, and yet so very exact, that art could not possibly come up to it. And of these they brought back with them a good quantity.

After an hour's travel, they came to the water called the Water of the Partridges, where this most delightful spring issues out of some rude marble rocks, which are of a black colour. This fountain, the Greeks say, broke out miraculously when the body of St. Catharine was carried from this mountain to the great convent, where her relics are preserved to this day; at which time

the bearers of her corpse being ready to perish with thirst, the partridges, which attended her funeral from the summit of the mountain, conducted them to this place, and discovered the fountain to them.

From this water, after three quarters of an hour, our travellers came to a plain, from whence they were able to discover the summit of Mount St. Catharine; and after they had walked in this plain for a good half hour, they began again to ascend the mountain, the greatest difficulty of which is towards the top. So that the whole time of travelling from the convent of the Forty Martyrs to Mount St. Catharine, may be looked upon to be about three hours.

On the summit of this mountain is a small plain, on which, according to the tradition of the Greeks, the body of St. Catharine the virgin and martyr, who suffered under the emperor Maximin, was deposited, having been brought thither by angels from Alexandria; and the mark of the place where she was laid, still remains to be seen as you look towards Mount Sinai, which stands to the north-east, at about four hours distance. The length of this impression* is seven feet in black and white marble granate, with a little mixture both of red and yellow spots. And about a

* *Quære.* Might not the same workmen that engraved the impression of the foot of Mahomet's camel, have engraved this also?

year ago, the monks built a small chapel over this tomb, seven feet eight inches broad, ten feet long, and six feet high.

From this mountain, which overlooks all the rest, there is an exceeding fine and extensive prospect. Mount Sinai, as I said before, lies towards the north-east, the Red Sea to the west, as also Tor, a place situated on the Red Sea, at two days journey distance from hence. To the south appears that extended arm of the Red Sea, which is called the Ælanitic Gulf, upon which the famous port of Ælana formerly stood.

Sept. 18.—We departed from this convent of the Forty Martyrs at a quarter after seven, through that vale which extends itself directly towards the north-west; and descending from the garden of the convent for a quarter of an hour, we came, as it were through a wood of olive-trees, to the church and cave of St. Onuphrius, in which he spent a devout life for forty years. Which when we had visited, and gone for another quarter of an hour through the aforesaid valley, we came to the stone which is called by the Greeks the Stone of the Fountains; which Moses struck twice* with his rod, as is described Numb. xx. 11.

* N. B. Here our traveller is mistaken in his quotation out of the Scriptures; for this is not the stone which Moses struck twice, as mentioned Numb. xx. 11. but the rock in the valley of Rephidim, where the children of Israel fought the Amalekites, before they arrived at Mount Sinai, as mentioned Exod. xvii. 7. whereas

where it is said, *And Moses lift up his hand, and with his rod he smote the rock twice; and the water came out abundantly.*

Which afore-mentioned stone* or solitary rock,

the stone which Moses struck *twice*, as mentioned Numb. xx. 11. is that stone which will be spoken of hereafter in this Journal, under the transactions of October 2.

* N. B. The devil tempted our Saviour by quoting texts of Scripture; and as he hath continued ever since to endeavour by pious frauds to deceive, if possible, the very elect, he therefore exciteth men, of sometimes good intentions, to forge false miracles, to invalidate by that means, as far as lies in his power, those which were performed by our Saviour and his apostles. One flagrant instance of which, among many, are those cursed and hellish frauds practised by the Grecian monks of Mount Sinai, in graving impressions in the rock, of the foot of Mahomet's camel, and of the body of St. Catherine, and of Moses; which would take off from the evidence which this wonderful rock of Meribah daily gives of the truth of the Mosaical history, if it was possible for the devil to effect it. But as the marks in that stone are of such a nature, as that human art is not capable of imitating them, the finger of God sheweth its own handy-work in the supernatural fissures, which are broken deep into the solid granate in such a manner, as not possibly to have been effected by human art. To convince the reader of which, I shall here give him a copy of the description of this remarkable stone, as I find it in the Travels of Dr. Shaw and Dr. Pococke.

The description of this rock, as given us by my friend Dr. Shaw, is as follows: "After we had descended with no small difficulty down the western side of this mountain, we came into "the other plain that is formed by it, which is Rephidim, Exod. "xvii. 1. Here we still see that extraordinary antiquity, the rock "of Meribah, Exod. xvii. 6, which hath continued down to this "day without the least injury from time or accidents. It is a "block of granate marble, about four yards square, lying tot-

is about twelve feet high, and about eight or ten feet broad, though it is not all of one equal

"tering, as it were, and loose in the middle of the valley, and "seems to have formerly belonged to Mount Sinai, which hangs "in a variety of precipices all over this plain. *The waters which "gushed out, and the stream which flowed withal,* Psal. vii. 8, "21. have hollowed across one corner of this rock a channel "about two inches deep and twenty wide, appearing to be crus-"tated all over, like the inside of a tea kettle that hath been "long in use. Besides several mossy productions that are still "preserved by the dew, we see all over this channel a great "number of holes, some of them four or five inches deep, and "one or two in diameter, the lively and demonstrable tokens "of their having been formerly so many fountains. It likewise "may be further observed, that art or chance could by no "means be concerned in the contrivance: for every circumstance "points out to us a miracle: and, in the same manner with the "rent in the rock of Mount Calvary at Jerusalem, never fails to "produce a religious surprise in all who see it."

The account which my worthy friend Dr. Pococke gives of it is this: "Here they shew the rock, which, they say, Moses struck "and the waters flowed out, when God told him he would "stand before him upon the rock of Horeb, which was after-"wards called Massah and Meribah. It is on the foot of Mount "Seric, and is a red granate stone, fifteen feet long, ten wide "and about twelve high. On both sides of it, towards the south "end, and at the top of the stone, for about the breadth of "eight inches, it is discoloured as by the running of water; and "all down this part on both sides, and at the top are a sort of "openings or mouths, some of which resemble the lion's mouth, "that is sometimes cut in stone spouts, but appear not to be the "work of a tool. There are about twelve on each side, and "within every one is an horizontal crack, and in some also a "crack perpendicularly down. There is also a crack from one "of the mouths next the hill, that extends two or three feet "towards the north, and all round the south end: the Arabs "call this stone the Stone of Moses."

breadth: it is a granate marble of a kind of brick colour; composed of red and white spots, which are both dusky in their kind; and stands by itself in the afore-mentioned valley, as if it had grown out of the earth, on the right hand of the road towards the north-east. There remains on it to this day the lively impression of the miracle then wrought; for there are still to be seen places whence the water gushed out, six openings towards the south-west, and six others towards the north-east; and in those places where the water flowed, the clefts are still to be seen in the rock, as it were with lips.

Which, when we had attentively observed, we proceeded on our journey, going directly forward towards the north-west; and after a journey of a small half hour, reached the end of the aforesaid valley. Here we found a great plain, into which another valley opens itself, extending towards the north-east. In this great plain, towards the south-west, on a moderate rising, is situated the garden of the convent of Friars, which is guarded by the Arabs, and has a small stream of sweet water running constantly through it, and with which it is supplied; and in the said garden are nine very stately cedars, of which, two exceed the rest in height, and are of a prodigious size; besides many other trees, such as apples, pears, vines, &c. The little church of St. Peter and St. Paul stands in the bottom of the garden, as also a small building belonging to the convent, which is inhabited by the Arabs who watch the garden.

In this great plain, which is on the outside of the garden, and which extends itself, as I observed before, towards the north-east, that* transaction is said to have happened which is described, Numb. xvi. 32. concerning the rebellion of Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, when the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed up them and their families. This plain or vale is pretty near of one equal breadth. When we had travelled through it from the garden of the convent, about a small half hour, we came to a place where the Greeks shewed us in the granate marble, which is of a brick-dust colour (as most of the neighbouring mountains are), a hole or cavity, where, they say, Aaron cast the head of the golden calf, as is described, Exod. xxxii. 4. when the people gave him the golden ear-rings that were in their ears, and *he received them at their hand, and fashioned it with a graving tool, after he had made it a molten calf.* And ver. 24, Aaron is represented as excusing himself, saying, *And I said unto them, Whosoever hath any gold, let him break it off; so they gave it me; then I cast it into the fire, and there came out this calf.* This cavity is indeed formed in such a manner, as to afford some

* Here our traveller and his informers are again mistaken in the history of the transactions of the Israelites; for the rebellion of Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, did not happen while Moses was upon Mount Sinai, or in the neighbourhood of it; nor till the Israelites had arrived at the foot of Mount Hor, which is quite at the other end of this promontory, and had refused to go and take possession of the land of Canaan after the return of the spies from thence, as mentioned Numb. xiv. 1, &c.

small resemblance to the head of a calf, and hath marks in it something like horns; it is in length about two feet and a half, in breadth two feet, and in depth two. At the bottom of it is earth or sand, which seemed to me to be about three feet deep; but I cannot be positive as to that, since we neither had time nor opportunity for extracting it out of the cavity, or *model* as the Greeks pretend it to be; much less could we discover any impression of a nose or mouth, or of ears or eyes; wherefore, as the holy Scriptures speak of the formation of a whole calf, and not of an head only, there seems to me to be a good deal of reason for rejecting this piece of tradition. The Greeks, however, to impose the more upon the ignorant, say, that though it rain ever so much, no water is seen to lie in this hole: they persist in this declaration, and allege, in proof of it* quotations out of the fathers: but Pere Claud Sicard says, that last year he found some snow actually lying in the cavity, and that it was quite filled with it; whence it is reasonable to believe, that the cause why the rain doth not lie in it, is owing to some hole at the bottom of the cavity, which emits it, as fast as it enters, and has passed through the sand. But that in this place, or

* Quotations out of the fathers for proof of a matter of fact, produced by persons who live upon the spot, seem to be an odd kind of argument. And the introduction of Pere Sicard's opinion in opposition to this declaration of the Greeks, seems quite as odd; for they do not assert that snow will not lie there, but only that rain will not, which father Sicard's assertion does not contradict.

hereabouts, the Israelites worshipped the golden calf, is somewhat probable, inasmuch as there are some rocks here twelve or fifteen feet high, upon which, when the golden calf was set up, it might easily be seen and adored by all the people, who were encamped in this wide and extensive vale; and further, because this place likewise answers and is situated directly over against another vale to the eastward, by which, they say, Moses descended from Mount Sinai, when he brought with him the tables of the testimony, and where, they say, it was that he broke them, when he came to the foot of the mountain.

Going on our journey through this valley, we came in a quarter of an hour, from the place distinguished by the *head*, to that garden which we first saw when we came into these parts: here we found a spring of fresh water, and much fruit. And now having altered our route towards the south-east, at about the distance of a gun-shot from the garden they shewed us a stone, about two feet high from the ground, on which are seen some unknown characters, which however, they say, were engraved by Jeremiah the prophet in honour of Moses and Aaron, who were buried there. But this is what I give no credit to, since I find it written of the burial place* of Moses, Deut.

* As to the burial place of Aaron, it is expressly said, that he died and was buried upon Mount Hor, at the further end of this promontory from Mount Sinai. See Numb. xx. 28. xxxiii. 38. Deut. xxxii. 50. And Moses died on the top of Pisgah in the land of Moab, over against Jericho, Deut. xxxiv. 1, 5.

xxxiv. 6. *But no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day.* At length, in a small half hour from hence, we arrived at the convent of Mount Sinai, making this day, from the convent of the Forty Martyrs hither, a journey of two hours and a quarter. And having finished our progress, we saw every thing that was to be seen here with the greatest satisfaction.

Sept. 19.—The Greeks celebrated the feast of the blessed Virgin Mary. And the archbishop again officiated, clothed in his *pontificalibus;* and when mass was done, we were, as usual, conducted to the refectory, where, before dinner, we had our feet washed by some of the monks, the rest chanting their devotions during the operation. And as soon as the washing was over, every one, according to his inclination and abilities, gave for the use of the convent either one or two chequins. As for the rest of the time while we staid there, nothing remarkable happened.

Oct. 1.—On this day we opened a chest, kept on the right hand of the presbytery, in which are preserved the relics of St. Catharine; and the principal parts they brought forth to shew us, were the skull and left hand of this saint, having the flesh and skin on it, but quite dried up, and covered with beautiful rings. After we had been favoured with this sight, we were permitted to depart. Taking leave, therefore, of the archbishop, and the rest of the monks, we came out of the

convent about noon, amidst the noisy clamours of the Arabs, by the same way that we entered. When we arrived at the place of The Head, we stopped, and having pitched our tents, were forced to continue there the remainder of that day, whether we would or not; but after a great deal of bustle, we at length made our contract with the Arabs, to carry us back a better road by Tor, than that which we came. Accordingly,

Oct. 2.—We departed about two o'clock in the morning, and taking the same route by which we came, we rested after three hours and a quarter's travelling, stopping in a place where was good water, at no great distance from the stone* of Mahomet; and having laid in our provision of water, departed about eleven o'clock, and in about half an hour, we again passed by the stone, where, as I said, Mahomet seated himself; and in another hour, we entered the shady wood† before mentioned. About three o'clock we passed by a large rock‡ on our left hand, in which, as in that

* See page 232. Sept. 12.

† This place is called Barak. See Sept. 12, p. 232.

‡ This is a very remarkable passage, it being the only place, in any book of travels, in which I have ever met with the mention of this second stone which Moses struck; though it is manifest from the Scriptures, that he struck two different stones, and at very different times. And as this is in a retired part of the wilderness, it is a wonderful confirmation of the veracity of the Mosaical history: for which reason, independent of all curiosity, I should think it worth while to employ some person to go thither, who should be very particular in his description of it.

other rock which Moses struck with his rod, appear from the bottom to the top, openings where water hath gushed out. Which when we had passed by, we stopped in an open plain, where we staid all night.

Oct. 3.—About three quarters after three in the morning we departed from this place, and at four o'clock, being about day break, we turned out of the road by which we first came, and leaving the valley leading to Marah on the right hand, entered into a large vale between very rough mountains, commonly called Gebel Faran, our course then pointing towards the north-west. And passing through this vale by a tolerable easy descent, we found it adorned with trees and dates on both sides of us, here and there interspersed with the habitations of Arabs, and full of birds, which entertained us very agreeably with their charming notes. About three quarters after eight, we passed by a place on a mountain upon our right hand, called Kabegin, which was entirely destroyed, nothing remaining of it but the ruins. And after a journey of another half hour, we came

The first stone which Moses struck is mentioned in the xviith chapter of Exodus, to have been in the valley of Rephidim, and before the arrival of the Israelites at Mount Sinai. Whereas the second which Moses struck twice before the waters gushed out, is mentioned in the xxth chapter of Numbers as being in the wilderness of Kadesh; after the death of Miriam, and not long before the death of Aaron. So that there was about thirty-eight years distance between the one transaction and the other.

to another ruined place, called Faran*, about a quarter after nine, situated likewise on our right hand. This was formerly a large city, containing many convents of the Greeks; for it was an episcopal city, under the jurisdiction of Mount Sinai, and formerly had the famous Theodorus for its bishop, who wrote against the Monothelites. But at present nothing remains, except heaps of ruins of this famous city. Here we were obliged to stop, on account of the disputes between the Arabs.

In this place no one is suffered to put pen to paper, by reason of a tradition they have, that here was formerly a river†, and that when an European was going to write down a description of it, out of indignation it sunk under ground, and has disappeared ever since. We departed from hence soon after three; and after three quarters of

* This should be written Paran. Which place was famous in history so long ago as in the days of Abraham; the four kings who took his nephew Lot prisoner, having first, in their passage round the Dead sea, *smote the Horites in their Mount Seir*, or Mount Hor, *unto* El-Paran, *which is by the wilderness*. And from hence this wilderness is frequently called the Wilderness of Paran. See note in page 228, Sept. 8.

† This tradition is very remarkable; for as the author describes his journey from the second rock of Moses towards this place, to have been through a vale *by a tolerably easy descent*, it is possible, that this tradition may have arisen from the water which flowed out of this rock, and formed a river, which, as St. Paul describes it*, *followed them* during their abode in that part of the wilderness, but probably dried up soon after their departure.

* 1 Cor. x. 4.

an hour, we again stopped at a place called Magai, where we found good water, with which we plentifully supplied ourselves.

Oct. 4.—We departed from hence about three quarters after four in the morning, and continuing our journey by a pretty sharp descent, got out at length from among the monstrous mountains of Gebel Faran, and came to a large plain, surrounded however with high hills, at the foot of one of which, we reposed ourselves under our tents at about half an hour after ten. These hills are called Gebel el Mokatab, that is, the Written Mountains; for as soon as we had parted from the mountains of Faran, we passed by several others for an hour together, engraved with ancient unknown characters, which were cut into the hard marble rock so high, as to be in some places at twelve or fourteen feet distance from the ground; and though we had in our company persons who were acquainted with the Arabic, Greek, Hebrew, Syriac, Coptic, Latin, Armenian, Turkish, English, Illyrican, German, and Bohemian languages, yet none of them had any knowledge of these characters, which have nevertheless been cut into the hard rock with the greatest industry, in a place where there is neither water, nor any thing to be gotten to eat. It is probable therefore, these unknown* characters contain some very

* The learned allow that the ancient Hebrew character, having been disused during the Babylonish captivity, is lost, and

secret mysteries, and that they were engraved either by the Chaldeans, or some other persons long before the coming of Christ. In this place, where we this day rested, there are two roads, one leading through a valley to Tor, and stretching directly westward; the other road towards the north-west, leading directly to Suess. Here the Arabs refusing to carry us all, according to our agreement, to Tor, a violent bustle arose, till at length it was concluded we should go directly to Suess, passing by the baths of Pharao, of which by and by. Thus submitting, whether we would or not, to the determination of the Arabs, the day following, being

Oct. 5.—We departed at half an hour after six, and by that road which leads north-west, proceeded towards the baths of Pharao; and continuing our journey through these mountains, which, they say, are also written with unknown characters like the others, we stopped, at half an hour after nine, in a plain totally surrounded with mountains. After dinner, we went to a neighbouring valley which lay westward, called Megena, where is a grotto cut with infinite labour in the marble rock, the entrance into which is, by the injury of time and

that it is the Chaldee character which we now use instead of it. The probability is, therefore, that these characters are the ancient Hebrew character, which the Israelites having learned to write at the time of the giving the law from mount Sinai, diverted themselves with practising it on these mountains during their forty years abode in the wilderness.

weather, for the most part obstructed by great stones; and even the cave itself almost half filled with sand. Being obliged to use the help of candles and other lights, on our entrance we came immediately to a great hall, supported on every side by rude unfinished pillars. This grotto, we could perceive, reached a great deal further; but on account of the excessive heats, we declined exploring it on, and we found that the further we went, the more the passage was obstructed with sand. At length we concluded, that this cave was built for a burial-place* to the Egyptians. But the inhabitants of the place, as well as the Arabs, say that a certain schiech, called Abuzeline, dwells in it, who drinks coffee continually brought from Mecca by birds, and pounded in mortars by angels; with many other such like fables, which I do not think worth while to enumerate.

Oct. 6.—We departed from hence at three quarters after four, and having reached the top of a mountain by an easy ascent, about three quarters after seven, we discovered the Red Sea lying to the west. We all, however, travelled down on foot, the descent being pretty sharp; and a little afterwards came to a plain, where we pro-

* This supposition is in my opinion a little extravagant, considering the great distance this place is from Egypt. But I see no reason, why it may not have been made by the Israelites during their abode in the wilderness, for some public use or other.

ceeded strait forward between the hills, and at ten o'clock, coming out from among the mountains towards the north-west, we approached to the sea-shore; and continuing our journey till half an hour after eleven, we then stopped, and rested ourselves in a plain, at about an hour's distance from the sea. This we did on account of some fresh water we found here, of which we laid in a good quantity against our ensuing journey over the next mountains, at an hour's distance from us towards the east.

Oct. 7.—Here we remained till after mid-day, and about two o'clock set forward, keeping upon the sea-shore; till about sun-set, we again left the sea, and arrived between the mountains by a tolerably easy ascent, after we had passed the mountain called Gebel el Scheitan, that is, the Mountain of the Devil; which, as it is entirely of a black colour, gives foundation for the Arabs to report, that the Devil sometimes dressed his victuals under it, by the smoke of which it acquired that blackness. They relate also another fabulous history, about a head erected on high towards the entrance into the mountains, upon the left hand of the road; being a very large stone, supposed to have been the head of a sea captain, whose name was Baube, which was cut off by the Arabs, and put on the summit of that mountain, where it now remains, and that in one night's time it was turned into stone; and, they say,

should any one throw it down from the place where it is fixed, it would by next day be restored to its situation. But these are only the fables of the Arabs. Proceeding on by the dusk of the evening in the forementioned valley, till three quarters after six, as it was full of trees, we rested there that night.

Oct. 8.—We departed from hence about sunrise, and after a journey of three hours, stopped, on account of a dispute with the Arabs, whether we should go, or not, to the baths of Pharao. And after a quarter of an hour, we again set forward, still descending a moderate hill, till we came to a place where two roads meet, one leading directly to Suess, and the other, on the left hand, to the baths of Pharao. Here a terrible dissention arose, and the utmost confusion, some taking the route towards Suess, and the others going towards the baths of Pharao; till at length, after a dreadful contest, those returned who had departed for Suess, and all went on together by the valley which leads to the baths of Pharao.

Having travelled two hours, we got clear of the mountains, and came near the sea, which lay to the west of us; and continuing our road towards the sea coast, after a journey of one hour we stopped. Then changing our route to the left, we travelled southwards upon the sea-shore, and came with our dromedaries to the baths of Pharao, which are about three quarters of an hour

from the high road, where being arrived, we considered the place very accurately. It is at the foot of an exceeding high mountain, stretching from east to west, till it terminates on the sea at about the distance of a stone's cast from it; and in this intermediate space, the aforementioned mineral waters break forth, and bubble up, making three distinct streams, which run into the sea, and are so hot, that a man can hardly bear his hand or foot in them. These waters have a salt and sulphureous taste, and leave a yellow tinge behind on the place from whence they issue, but are otherwise in themselves very clear and pellucid. At length we came to the fountain head, where are two caves or hollows in the mountain, which diminish irregularly; that towards the left, being the largest, forms itself, as it were, into a chamber, into which when any person enters, it raises as wonderful a sweat as if he was in a very hot bath. Hither many sick persons resort, and by sweating for forty days successively, and regular diet, and drinking the mineral water, recover their health.

The water is often sent for to Cairo, by those that cannot conveniently come to the fountain, and frequently drunk at home with good success. The inhabitants of the place say, that if you put four eggs into any of the baths, three of them will be boiled, and the fourth will disappear. But this I give no credit to, unless I had seen the experiment. They are called Haman el Pha-

raone,* that is, the baths of Pharao, because possibly they might formerly have been frequented by Pharao. Whence also adjoining the sea, which is three or four leagues broad, is called Berke el Pharaone, or the Lake of Pharao. And as it is a good station for casting anchor in, a ship happened at this very time to be riding here at anchor, waiting for a favourable wind to carry her to Gidda.

Having taken a careful view of this bath, and the places about it, we departed to join the rest of our caravan, and overtook it late at night, on the sea-shore in the valley of Gorondu,† where the rivulet before-mentioned empties itself into the sea; and is here both bitter and salt, and very disagreeable to the taste. We spent in this place a very uneasy night, on account of the high wind, which drove the sand in great quantities upon us, and incommoded us very much.

Oct. 9.—About sun-rise we departed, and in our course along the sea-shore were still much disturbed by the high wind. After a journey of six hours, having left all the mountains, we travelled over several little hills and rising grounds, and rested in a place where were several tufts of green grass; and refreshing ourselves with a mo-

* Hence possibly hot-baths in England are called *hummums*. See also the note, p. 228, Sept. 8.

† See Sept. 8, p. 229.

derâte dinner, we travelled on again for four hours and a half, till it was pretty late in the night; and, two hours before we stopped, passed a place near the sea where was a stream of excellent sweet water.

Oct. 10.---That we might get beyond Suess, we departed from hence soon after mid-night; but in about two hours it became so dark, that we were forced to stop, whether we would or not, for fear of the camels falling. And at half an hour after four, it being dawn of day, we set forward again, and in seven hours came to the Wells of Moses, called Ain el Musa*. Immediately upon our arrival here, all of us who were on horseback pursued our journey, and rode on before, to provide a ship to carry us all to the other side of the gulf. After we had taken some rest, the caravan came up to us about five o'clock, by which time the ship being got ready, we went aboard with all our concerns; and when landed, lodged ourselves in our former camp† on the outside of the city of Suess. Here we found only two ships, which were to sail in two days time.

Oct. 11.---We remained in our tents at Suess, being visited by the Christians of the place, who also entertained us with an elegant supper.

Oct. 12.---This whole day we saw those Arabs

* See Sept. 6, p. 226. † See Sept. 5, p. 224.

passing by, who are the most inveterate enemies to the Arabs of Mount Sinai. And lest we should encounter them on the road, we staid on purpose till the following day.

Oct. 13.---And now imagining that all the Arabs, who were at enmity with us, were gone by, we departed from Suess; and after a journey of a good hour stopped at Bir el Suess*, before described: after a moderate dinner here, we again set forward, and when we were not far distant from Agirut† we perceived a caravan of our enemies just over against us, which we all thought had passed by long before; so that though they were going another road at the distance from us of a gun-shot, yet our Arabs nevertheless prepared themselves for battle, alighting from their camels, and marching on foot armed with lances, swords, and guns; while four of the chief of them galloping their horses between the enemy's caravan and ours, attempted, by insulting them in this bravading manner‡, to provoke them to an engagement. For though the camels of our enemy's caravan were much more numerous than ours, yet we were stronger in the number of armed men; so that they durst not attack us, but hastened their pace to pass by us: and it was not unpleasant to behold those that were in the rear golloping after the rest for fear we would take them prisoners.

*See Sept. 5, p. 224. † See Sept. 5, p. 224.

‡ Or at least to shew they were not afraid of them.

Soon after they were gone, we turned towards the road by which our enemies came, which was upon our right hand; and having passed Agirut upon our left hand, of which we have already spoken,* we continued our course between hills and rising grounds, interspersed here and there with tufts of green herbs, on which the camels fed, being about six Italian miles distant from the road which we passed in our former journey. At length we stopped, when we were come three hours and a half from Agirut, seven hours and a half from Suess, and within sight of the mountains of Huhebi,† which were about a good league distant from us towards the north.

Oct. 14.—At half an hour after four in the morning, we departed again from this place, and about sun-rise, saw seven animals called gasell, and a good many hares feeding on the afore-mentioned green tufts. And having passed by the mountain Huhebi, at, as I said, about a league's distance, we stopped at half an hour after eleven; and at one o'clock, after dinner, we again set forward on our journey, and travelled till half an hour after five, when we stopped near a little hill.

Oct. 15.—We proceeded on our journey this morning at about half an hour after five, travelling, as before, between hills and rising grounds, and rested ourselves at half an hour after nine.

* See Sept. 5, p. 224. † See Sept. 4, p. 223.

And having quitted the road that leads by the village of Chanke,* we pursued our journey directly towards Cairo. For which place we set forward at half an hour after one, leaving those sandy hills† on our right hand, through which we passed in our former journey. And a little before sun-set, we ascended up a little hill called Daher el Homar, that is, the Asses Back, from whence we got a view of the situation of Cairo, at four hours and a half distance from us; and prosecuting our journey between twilight and the light of the moon, we at length came, about nine o'clock to the last stage, called Ukalt el Bahaar,‡ where our friends were gathered together expecting our arrival. They received us very affectionately, with singing, and exultations, and embraces; and according to the custom of the orientals, spending the night in noisy clamours, and clapping their hands.

Oct. 16.—This day we entered the city, in good health, by the port of Baab el Naasar; and I arrived at my own house: thanks be to God, who brought me thither safe from all mischief.

* See Sept. 2, p. 222. † See Sept. 3, p. 223.
‡ See Sept. 1, p. 220.

THE END.

INDEX

TO THE

JOURNEY FROM ALEPPO TO JERUSALEM.

A

Abel, his tomb, 180.
Absalom, his pillar, 108.
Adam, the earth he is supposed to be made of, 173.
Ager Damascenus, 173.
Alcoran, carried in state, 172.
Alms-house, at Shoggle, 6.
——— and mosque at Jebilee, 17.
Annanias, his house, 174.
Annas, his house, 133.
——— tomb, 179.
Antidote of the Turks against melancholy, 174.
Antonine Way, 48, 50.
Aqueduct, conveying the water from Solomon's pools to Jerusalem, 121.
Aqueducts, several at Bambych, 204.
Arms and instruments of war anciently made use of, 207.
Author, his beasts pressed for public service, 34.
——— in danger of being shot by a drunken janizary, 179.
——— in great distress by bad weather, 10.
——— entertained by the English consul at Tripoli, 34, 189.
Author, entertained by the French merchants at Sidon, 59, 160.
——— entertained by the guardian at Damascus, 167.
——— joins the French consul at Acra, 74, 158.
Author, his letter giving some account of the Turks, 196.
——— his letter concerning Gehazi's distemper, and of excommunication among the Greeks, 200.
——— leaves Jerusalem in company with the mosolem, 148.
——— his servants frighted away by those of the bassa at Tripoli, 42.
——— he sets out to the river Euphrates, &c. 203.

B

Balls of stone used for ammunition, 73.
Balbeck temple, 183.
Bashalick of Aleppo ends, and Tripoli begins, 6.
——— of Tripoli and Sidon, 47.
Bathsheba's Pool, 136.
Bay of Junia, 46.
Beautiful gate of the Temple at Jerusalem, 135.

Bells, an abomination to the Turks, 36.
—— two at the church at Canobine, and at no other place, 193.
Bell-Mount, a convent of Greeks, 35.
Bethesda, the Pool of, 145.
Bird and Coney Islands, 41.
Bitumen, a kind of earth resembling pitch, 113.
Boats for crossing the rivers, the fashion of them, and manner of rowing them, 207.
Bridges, two near Corus, the work of Theodorit, 211.

C

Cajaphas, his house, 134.
Cain, where he slew his brother, 176.
Caphar, a duty paid by travellers, 4, 8, 23, 58, 70, 77, 78, 83, 90, 106, 111, 150, 161, 163, 186.
Castle of Antab, 209
—— of Beer, 207.
—— of Corus, 210.
—— of Merchab, 22.
—— of Margath, 22.
—— of Rowant, 210.
—— of Scandalium or Alexander, 70.
—— of Temseida, 44.
Castles, several in the bay of Junia, built by the empress Helena, 47.
Cave, where the Apostles hid themselves when they forsook their Master, 136.
Cedars of Libanus, 191.
Cedron, the brook, 137, 142.
Ceremonies observed by the Latins on Good Friday, 90, 96.
Chain cut in stone, 171.
Chapel of the Holy Manger, 122.
Christ, the place where he was betrayed, mocked, and scourged, 142, 144.
Christ, his prison, 97, 134.
—— place of his crucifixion. The hole where his cross stood, and the cleft in the rock made by the earthquake, 98.
—— where he appeared to the Three Marys, 132.
—— place of his ascension, 140.
—— transfiguration, 152.
—— where he fed the multitude, 156.
—— where he was smote by a servant of the high-priest, 133.
Christian church at Bellulca, 9.
—— at Jebilee, 19.
Churches, their east end left entire, 65.
—— chapels, and convents, 131—134.
—— convents, palace, nunnery, &c. ruined at Acra, or Acca, 73.
—— at Beroot, 54.
—— and convents at Sydonaiia, sixteen in number, 176, 177.
Church of the Cœnaculum, 134.
—— of Helena, 131.
—— of St. John at Damascus, and the Turks' tradition concerning it, 169.
—— and convent of St. John, where our Saviour was baptized, 109, 125.
—— at Sebasta over the place where St. John was beheaded, 78.
—— at Beer, in memory of the Blessed Virgin, 86.
—— and convent of Latins at Jerusalem, 90.
—— at Nizib, 208.
—— of the Holy Sepulchre, 90, 127.

Church at Tortosa, 25.
Clouds, so low as to obscure the road, 191.
Coffee-house, a remarkable one near Damascus, 173.
Compliment made to the consul by the priest, 37.
Consul (French) at Sidon, visits Jerusalem every Easter, 61.
Convent of St. Anne, 145.
——— over the place of the Annunciation, 151.
——— dedicated to Elias, 117.
——— of Greeks, called Bell-Mount, 35.
——— of Greeks, called the Holy Cross, 126.
——— Oozier, 47.
——— Sydonaiia, 176.
Corn, the Eastern manner of gathering it in harvest, 194.
Court, 55 yards square, cut in the natural rock, 27.
Crutches, used by the priests at divine service, 37.

D

Damascus, its pleasant situation, &c. 164.
——— the gardens, and the manner of visiting them, 175.
——— watered by the river Barrady, 165.
David's Well, 121.
——— the place where he slew Goliah, 124.
Dead Sea, 109, 111.
——— the quality of its water, 113.
Desert, where our Saviour was tempted by the Devil, 106.
Dike, a large one cut in the rock, 30 yards over, and more than a furlong long, near the Serpent fountain, 27.
Dolorous Way, 144.
Doors of stone, very remarkable, 103.

E

Elias, his stone bed, 117.
Elizabeth, the mother of St. John, her house, 125.
Emir Chibly encamped upon the road, robs travellers, 78, 150.
Eunuch of Æthiopia, where baptized by Philip, 123.

F

Faccardine, prince of the Druses, his palace, 52.
——— his reason for turning day into night, 57.
——— his grove, 57.
Figures of men, carved in the natural rock, 49.
Fissure, a very deep one in the earth, 7.
Font, used by the Apostles, 132.
Fountain of the Apostles, 106.
——— Ayn il Hadede, 189.
——— Ayn il Hawra, 180.
——— Ambus Lee, 160.
——— of Elisha, 108.
——— of Kishon, 155.
——— of Selee, 78, 149.
——— of the Blessed Virgin, 71, 137.
Fruit called Za-cho-ne, remarkable for its healing quality, 115.

G

Garden-walls at Damascus, described, 167.
Gate of the Temple walled up by the Turks, and why, 138.
Gethsemane, 142.
George (St.) and the dragon, the place where they duelled, 50.
Goads of oxen, of an extraordinary size, 149.

Good-Friday, how observed by the Latins at Jerusalem, 90.
Granite, several pillars of it, 20, 22, 42, 56, 57, 151.
Grott of the Blessed Virgin, an account of the whiteness of it, 122.
Grottos, two hundred cut in the side of a rock, 158.
——— all transactions related in the Gospels, said to be done in grottos, 153.

H

Hadgees, the manner of their setting out on their pilgrimage to Mecca, 171.
Hermon, the dew of it, 77.
Herod's gate at Jerusalem, 105.
Holy Fire, a ceremony on Easter Eve, 127.
——— the people's great opinion of it, 129, 131.
——— Land begins, 60.
——— Sepulchre profaned, 146.
Horse falls through the bridge at Casimeer, 64.

I

Jacob's Well, 83.
Jacob, his Bethel, 85.
James, (St.) where beheaded, 132.
Idol Canis, 47.
Jebilee, its situation, 17.
——— anciently convenient for shipping, 20.
——— remains of a noble theatre there, 20.
Jehosaphat, the Turks' tradition concerning a pillar there, 138.
Jeremiah, the prophet's place of residence, and bed, 102.
——— the dungeon where he was kept by Zedekiah, 105.
Jerusalem, ceremonies at entering the city, 89.
Jerusalem, the circuit of it measured, 147.
——— the several ceremonies observed there on Good Friday, and Easter day, relating to our Saviour's crucifixion, 96—100, &c.
Impaling, the manner of that punishment, 190.
Inns, none to be found on the roads in Turkey, 2.
Inscription to the memory of the emperor Antoninus, 49.
——— on the fountain at Balbeck, 187.
——— over a gate at Beroot, 56.
——— over the castle gate at Corus, 211.
——— on two pillars of granite, lying cross the road, 62.
Joachim and Anna, parents of the Blessed Virgin, their house, 157.
John Baptist (St.) his cave, 124.
——— beheaded at Sebasta, 78.
——— his head kept in a church at Damascus, 170.
Joseph, sold by his brethren at Dothaim, 156.
——— his sepulchre, 83.
——— the ground given him by his father Jacob, 84.
Joseph, (St.) his house, where our Saviour lived, 152.
——— his chapel, 117.
Judas, the place where he hanged himself, 133.
——— the place where he betrayed his Master, 142.

K

Kanes, lodging-places for travellers, 2.
——— one cut into a rock at Beer, 208.
Kishon, the brook, 76, 155.

L

Lake Limone, 188.
—— or sea of Rooge, 4.
Lazarus, his castle and sepulchre, 105.
Locusts, 82, 124.

M

Mandrakes, 82.
Manuscript of the Testament in Syriac 800 years old, 132.
Marine, near Tripoli, 41.
Mark (St.) his house, 132.
Marks of the Cross, &c. on the arms of pilgrims, the manner of making them, 100.
Maronites, exacting and insolent, 47.
Mary Magdalen, her habitation, 106.
—————— the house where she washed our Saviour's feet, 145.
Mary the Virgin, where born, 145.
—— her annunciation, 151.
—— her assumption, 141.
—— a story of her girdle, 141.
—— the place where she was warned of her death, 140.
—— the place where she died, 134.
—— the place where she saluted Elizabeth, 125.
—— her corpse arrested by a Jew, 134.
—— her sepulchre, 143.
Miracle, related of a picture of the Virgin Mary, 177.
Monument at Corus, 211.
Mosques, fifteen at Chillis, 212.
Mount of the Beatitudes, 155.
——— Calvary, 91.
——— Carmel, 72.
——— Gerizim and Hebal, 79.
——— Gihon, 145.
——— Moriah, 92, 135, 143.
Mount Olivet, 105, 139, 141.
——— Saron, 70.
——— Sion, 136.
——— Tabor and Hermon, 77, 152, 155.
Mountains of Castravan and Climax, 46, 47.
Mountain of the Franks, 118.
——— of Libanus, and Anti-Libanus, 160, 188.
——— of Occaby, 8.
——— of Offence, 138.
——— of Precipitation, 156.
——— of Quarantania, from whence the Devil shewed our Saviour the kingdoms of the world, 107.
——— where the swine ran down into the sea, 155.
——— of Arabia, 107.
——— of Gilboah, 155.
——— of Gilead, 89.
——— of Palestine, 87.

N

Neceres, a strange and singular people, 16.
Nehemiah, his well, 137.
Nicephorus, (St.) a story concerning his beard, 55.
Nox Tenebrosa, Good Friday, so called by the Latins at Jerusalem, 96.
Nuns, disfigure their faces, to avoid the beastialities of the soldiers, 72.

O

Orange garden at Beroot, 52.

P

Passengers imposed upon by those who assist them at the rivers, 58.
Paul, (St.) the place of his vision, &c. and where he was let down in a basket, 174.

Paul, (St.) the house where he lodged at Damascus, 179.
Peter, (St.) his prison, 131.
——— the place where he wept after denying his Lord, 135.
Pigeons, great number of them at Kefteen, 3.
——— one put into the cupola of the Holy Sepulchre, to represent the Holy Ghost, 128.
Pilate, his palace, 143.
Pilgrims, at Easter, guarded from Jerusalem to Jordan, 105.
——— disturbed in their devotions there, 110.
——— their feet washed by the father guardian, 126.
Pillar of Lot's wife, 114.
Plain of Acra, 70, 158.
—— of Esdraelon, 76, 150, 152, 154.
—— of Galilee, 154.
—— of Jericho, 89, 108.
—— of Junia, 32.
—— of Tripoli, 191.
—— of Zabulon, 158.
Potters field, 136.
Presents, to be sent when you intend a visit to the Turks, 35.
Prince's bridge, supposed to be built by Godfrey of Bulloign, 35.
Promontory, supposed to be mentioned by Strabo, 43.
——— (White) 69.
Pulpit, of tortoise shell and mother of pearl, 133.

Q

Quails, 82.

R

Rachel's tomb, 117.
River Abana and Pharpar, supposed to be Barrady, 166.
River of Aleppo arises from a fountain, 209.
—— Awle, near Sidon, 59.
—— Ayn Yentloe, 162.
—— Barrady, 163, 180.
—— Belus, 75.
—— Beroot, 48.
—— Casimeer, 33, 63, 162.
—— of the Cold Waters, 22.
—— Damer or Tamyras, 58.
—— Eleutherus, 32, 64, 162.
—— Ephreen, 210.
—— Euphrates, 206.
—— Ibrahim Bassa, supposed to be the river Adonis, its water of a bloody colour at certain seasons, 46.
—— Jobar, 22.
—— Jordan, 109.
—— Kishon, 76.
—— Letane, 161, 162.
—— Lycus or Canis, 47.
—— Nahor Abrosh, or Leper's river, 32.
—— Nahor Acchar, 32.
—— Nahor Huffine, 24.
—— Nahor Kelp, 47.
—— Nahor il Kibber, or the Great river, 32.
—— Nahor il Melech, or the King's river, 21.
—— Orontes, its water and fish unwholesome, 5.
—— Sabon, Chor or Char, 210.
—— Sejour, 205, 209.
—— Towzad, 206.
Rivulets, the manner of cleansing them at Damascus, 167.
Road cut on the side of the White Promontary, 70.

S

Sand, a material for making, glass, 75.
Sea of Tiberias, 155.
Seditions sown by the Turks among the wild people, 75.
Sepulchres hewn into the rock, 18.

Sepulchres of the Kings, 102.
——— the doors of them very surprising, 103.
——— of the Prophets, 140.
——— of the Virgin Mary, St. Anna, and St. Joseph, 139.
——— with six statues and inscriptions, 179.
Sepulchral monuments, very large, 28.
Serpents fountain, 26, 31.
Sheck's house, a burying-place, 12.
——— Wife, a deep fissure in the earth, 7.
Shepherds, the field where they watched their flocks, when they received tidings of the birth of Christ, 120.
Siloam, the pool of, 137.
Simeon, his house, 116.
Sion gate at Jerusalem, 135.
——— the hill of, 92.
Solomon's cisterns, 67.
——— fountains, pools, gardens, &c. 118.
——— his strange wives kept at Siloe, 137.
——— high places built, 138.
Spon (Mr.) drowned in passing the river Damer, 58.
Star, appeared to the Eastern kings, 117.
St. Stephen, the stone on which he suffered martyrdom, 139.
——— his gate, at Jerusalem, 105, 139.
Stones like pease, a tradition concerning them, 117.
——— resembling porphyry, 209.
——— sixty-one yards long, in a wall at Balbeck, 186.
——— of a sulphureous nature and combustible, 112.
Stones, three much esteemed, and why, 133.
Stone which was laid at the door of our Saviour's sepulchre, 134.
——— of unction, 99, 131.
——— said to have the impression of our Saviour's feet upon it, 138, 140.
Stream issuing out of the side of a mountain, 161.
Street called Straight, at Damascus, 179.
Synagogue, where our Saviour preached, 152.
Sultan Ibrahim, his tomb, mosque, grotto, cell, &c, 17, 18.

T

Theatre, the remains of a noble one at Jebilee, 20.
Thomas, (St.) his house, 132.
Tomb and cell of sultan Ibrahim, 17.
Tombs, several in the plain near Latichea, 15.
Tortosa, anciently Orthosia, a place of great strength, 24.
——— a large castle there, 24.
Towers, or sepulchral monuments, 28.
Tree, from whence our Saviour's cross was taken, 126.
Tree (olive) to which our Saviour was chained, 133.
Tribe of Asher, 60.
——— of Zabulon, 76.
——— of Benjamin, 85.
——— of Manasses and Ephraim, 78.
Tripoli, supposed to have been three distinct cities, 42.
Troglodytæ, a people mentioned by Strabo, 160.
Turks Byram or Ramadam, a feast after Lent, 146.
——— their manner of building and furnishing their houses at Damascus, 168.

Turks none of them live above two years in Boote-shellah, 123.
——— their tradition concerning a pillar at Jehosaphat, 138.
——— their story of their prophet viewing Damascus, 164.
Turks, their policy in sowing division among the wild people, 75.
Turpentine tree, under which the Virgin Mary reposed herself, 116.

V

Valley, where the angel destroyed the army of Senacherib, 123.
——— of Be-da-me, 6.
——— of Bocat or Bicath-Aven, 161.
——— of Canobine, 193.
——— of Elah, 124.
——— of Hinnom, 136.
Valley of Jehosaphat, 105, 137, 139.
——— of Rephaim, 116.
——— of Salt, 213,
——— of Sychem, 79.
Vaults, several very large, at Jerusalem, 135.
——— twelve, in memory of the Apostles, 140.
Visit, the manner of it in Turkey, 39.

W

Wilderness and convent of St. John, 124.
Water and fish in the river Orontes, very unwholesome, 5.

Z

Zaccheus, his house, 108.
Zachary, his sepulchre, 138.
Zebedee, his house, 131.

CITIES, TOWNS, AND VILLAGES,

MENTIONED IN THE JOURNEY.

Acamy, 203.
Achzib, 71.
Acra, 71, 158.
Adjia, 209.
Antab, 209.
Arab, 78.
Arvad and Arphad, 25.
Ayta, 162.
Azass, 212.
Bab, 203.
Balbeck, 161, 180.
Bambych, 204.
Baneas, 22.
Barseba, 79.
Be-da-me, 6.
Beer, 86, 207.
Bell-maez, 5.
Bellulca, 9.
Berook, 59.
Beroot or Berytus, 51.
Besack, 23.
Bethany, 105.
Bethlehem, 116, 117.
Bethulia, 155.
Bezay, 203.
Bird and Coney Islands, 41.
Bocat or Bicath-Aven, 161.
Boote-shellah, 123.
Botrus and Byblus, 44.
Callemone, 43.
Cana of Galilee, 157.
Canobine, 191.
Caphar-Miki, 160.
Carmel, 57.
Castravan, 57.
Caypha, 76.
Chillis, 212.
Citte-Galle, 9.
Cinga, 85.
Corus, 210.
Daberah, 155.
Damascus, 160, 164.
Demas, 163.
Diocesaria, 157.
Dothaim, 156.
Dyn il Daab, 203.
Eden, 161, 191.
Endor, 155.
Engedi, 118.
Essoyn, 2.
Geeb, 85.
Gibul in the Valley of Salt, 162.
Gibyle, 44.
Hadyar ib Sultane, or Sultan's Stone, 8.
Harbanoose, 4.
Howar, 84.
Hozano, 2.
Jun-Bolads, 212.
Jebilee, 16.
Jeneen, 150.
Jib Jeneen, 162.
Jerabolus, 205.
Jericho, 108.
Jerusalem, 89. 116.
Jordan, 109.
Julia Felix, 51.
Keffre, 2.
Kefteen, 2.
Kor Aren, 182.
Ko-ri-e, 63.
Latichea, 14.
Leban or Lebonah, 84.
Lediff, 203.
Legene, 2.
Legune, 76.
Maday, 180.
Meneen, 176.
Merakia, 23.

Meshgarah, 164.
Mesopotamia, 208.
Michmas, 86.
Modon, 124.
Nain, 155.
Naplosa, 79.
Nazareth, 76, 151.
Nizib, 208.
Oo-rem, 2.
Orthosia, 24.
Patrone, 44.
Philip (St.), 71.
Ptolemais, 71.
Rama, 78, 89.
Rooge, 4.
Roselayn, 67.
Ruad, supposed to be Arvad and Arphad, 25.
Samaria, 78.
Saphet, 155.
Sarphan or Sarepta, 63.
Satyra, 158.
Sawee, 84.
Sebasta, 78.
Seck-Berukel, 212.
Selwid, 85.
Sepharia, 157.
Sherack, 79.
Shoggle, 5.
Sholfatia, 11.
Shuckfoat, 57.
Sidon, 59, 158.
Silam, 209.
Siloe, 137.
Sinie, 180.
Solhees, 165.
Sophia, 23.
Sodom, 114.
Sultan's Stone, 8.
Surbass, 203.
Surgawich, 181.
Sychem or Sychar, 79.
Tall, 176.
Tekoah, 118.
Te-ne-ree, 4.
Tortosa, 24.
Tripoli, 32, 189.
Tyre, 64.
Uwur, 209.
Uzzi, 162.
Ye-ad, 187.
Zib, 71.

A

FAITHFUL ACCOUNT

OF THE

RELIGION AND MANNERS

OF THE

MAHOMETANS.

IN WHICH IS A PARTICULAR RELATION

OF THEIR

Pilgrimage to Mecca,

THE PLACE OF MAHOMET'S BIRTH;

AND A

DESCRIPTION OF MEDINA, AND OF HIS TOMB THERE;

AS LIKEWISE

OF ALGIER, AND THE COUNTRY ADJACENT; AND OF GRAND CAIRO, ALEXANDRIA, &c.

With an Account

OF THE

AUTHOR'S BEING TAKEN CAPTIVE;

THE TURKS' CRUELTY TO HIM; AND OF HIS ESCAPE.

IN WHICH

ARE MANY THINGS NEVER BEFORE PUBLISHED BY ANY HISTORIAN.

BY JOSEPH PITTS,

OF EXON.

FOURTH EDITION.

TO THE

RIGHT HON. PETER, LORD KING,

BARON OF OCKHAM,

LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF GREAT BRITAIN,

THIS EDITION

OF THE FOLLOWING ACCOUNT OF

THE RELIGION AND MANNERS OF THE MAHOMETANS,

IS, WITH THE PROFOUNDEST RESPECT,

DEDICATED, BY

YOUR LORDSHIP'S

MOST DEVOTED,

MOST OBEDIENT, AND

MOST HUMBLE SERVANT,

JOSEPH PITTS.

PREFACE.

IT may be thought presumption in me, to put forth this little book, of the Religion and Manners of the Mahometans, &c. after what so many great and learned men, and travellers, capable of making their observations with the greatest exactness, have published on the same subject; and indeed, I thought an offer towards a publication of my poor memoirs to be so: but I was importuned by many of my friends; and upon a serious consideration of the intent of their request, I was prevailed with to do it, hoping I might thereby be a means of doing good to some one or other.

I may undergo the censures of some but I hope not of the best, and most candid men. I do not pretend to give an exact and methodical account of what I have observed; for I am sensible that I have not the abilities which are required in a person that writes such an history: only, I beg leave to say plainly, I have the most valuable qualification of an historian on my side, i. e. Truth.

I never thought, till importuned thereto, of exposing my observations to public view; I had many objections in myself to the contrary, and great reluctancy, which the reader may guess at: but I have now launched out, and therefore intreat the reader, that he would pass by the inaccu-

racy of the method, the meanness of the style, and any errors that happen to be seen; though I know of none material.

One thing I will desire of the learned reader, which is, that if the Arabic words in any place be not rightly written, he will please to take notice, that I aimed at the vulgar sound of the words, and writ as near as I could to their way of speaking. And moreover, I cannot pretend to a perfection in the Arabic language; which was the occasion of that mistake in page 41. of the first edition, where the Arabic was not truly englished; but I have since procured a just translation of it. If I happen in any place to be mistaken in point of time, it is not wilfully done; and therefore I hope the reader will overlook it.

I might have contrived it so, as to have made a much larger book of it, if I had thought fit; but I was willing it should be for every body's reading, and therefore would not make the price too great.

I have hinted at some mistakes in authors, who are persons of great learning and worth, and whose names I acknowledge myself unworthy so much as to mention, were it not for the sake of truth, which ought to be the dearest thing in the world to every man; and upon that account alone I have made bold to mention some things, in which I am sure they have been misinformed. What I speak I know to be true; nor have I recited things merely upon hearsay.

I question whether there be a man now in Eng-

land, who has ever been at Mecca; and if I were assured of it, yet I would never take encouragement from thence to tell the world any thing but truth; if I should, I am sensible it would be but a bad testimony of my repentance for my apostasy, and I dread the thoughts of so doing; so that the reader may be assured of my sincerity in the following relation.

But after all, it is not to be expected, but that I shall come under the censures and reproaches of some; yet this is my comfort, who is there that ever published a book of this nature, and did not come under censure? You must give him leave, (say they, in a way of proverb,) travellers must be allowed to tell what [illegible] ies they please; it is better to believe what he saith, than to go and seek out the truth of it. I have borne much more than this ere now; but censure is no proof. If I have committed any error, it is an involuntary one, and I shall be glad to be informed of it, and will correct it; but for such men as are partial in their censure, or critics at random, and find fault for the sake of finding fault, I think they are more unreasonable than the people I came from, and therefore I desire no familiarity with them.

In the sixth chapter, which contains an account of the Mahometan faith and worship, it behoved me to be as exact as I possibly could; and there is nothing material, as far as I can remember, that I have omitted.

The seventh chapter which treats chiefly of the Mahometans' pilgrimage to Mecca, where Mahomet

was born, (though some deny that he was born there, yet it is universally believed among the Turks) and of their visit to his tomb at Medina, I think to be very exact as to truth; though the method and wording may need an apology.

How many stories have been scattered about in the world, concerning Mahomet's tomb? As of its hanging up by the virtue of a loadstone, &c. which are all as false as any thing can be.

The story of the pigeon, which is said to have been taught by Mahomet to pick corn out of his ear, and which the vulgar took to be the whispers of the Holy Ghost, hath no better foundation, that ever I could learn, than a castle (or his tomb) in the air. And since I came home, I have seen many books, some of which have treated of Algier in particular, and others of the Mahometan religion in general; which are stuffed with very great mistakes, I speak not this to raise a value for what I have here written; for I protest, I am ashamed, and in pain about publishing it, notwithstanding the encouragement my friends have given me, because I am sensible I want ability to do a thing of this nature as I ought. But whatever the success of this book may be, I declare my principal end in its publication, is giving glory to God, by whose gracious providence I am released from slavery, and brought again into my own native country, where there are no means of salvation wanting, and where the blessed doctrine of Jesus is established, and the Holy Trinity adored.

It is a shame, indeed, to Christians, to take a

view of the zeal of those poor blind Mahometans; which in the following account, will be found to be in many things very strict. If they are so zealous in their false worship, it must needs be a reprimand to Christians, who are so remiss in the true. And, I pray God they may take the hint, and learn thereby to bless the goodness of God, that he hath continued his gospel to them, while such a vast part of the globe is devoted to a vile and debauched impostor.

It was as I have read, the many heresies, and blasphemous errors, broached in that, and the preceding ages, which provoked God to deliver the eastern churches over to cursed Mahomet, and to remove the candlestick out of its place. God grant the same cause may not have the same direful influence on us; but that all, professing Christianity, may both entirely believe the doctrines of our blessed Saviour, and sincerely conform their practice to their belief. And though the former, in some instances, may seem difficult to reason, and the latter to corrupt nature; yet both duly and humbly considered, will be found to be our reasonable service. And, according to the best of my capacity, I see not much difference between a man's refusing to believe the mysterious doctrines of our religion, because they exceed his reach and comprehension, so long as they are clearly revealed; and his denying to obey the practical, and moral precepts of Christianity, because some of them are not suited to his humour

and complexion, and adapted to his own scheme. We must have a new religion to please all; but the old must and will stand, in spite of the gates of hell; for our Lord hath assured us, that they shall not prevail against it; and, that he will be with his church to the end of the world, wheresoever it may be transplanted for the sins of men.

I cannot but recommend to all parents, an early, religious education of their children; and to take all imaginable care, in their tender years, to instruct them well in the principles of Christianity: for I am apt to think, had I myself had as little knowledge as some have, who are taken slaves, I had been for ever lost. And I am verily persuaded, that many poor ignorant souls, which have turned Mahometans, would never have done what they did, had they been catechised as they ought. No man knows how far the benefit of a good education may extend.

I think myself obliged to make an apology for calling the Turkish Imam, or Emaum, priest, and their Mosques churches; but I hope the reader will pardon it, because I knew not well, otherwise, how to express myself so as to be understood.

The second edition was printed without my consent; nay, I knew nothing of the matter, till they had gone about half way. I have wished since, I had then published an advertisement, that I would in a little time print a second edition with additions. This might, perhaps, have put a stop to the press; for I scarce ever saw

a book printed on worse paper and so incorrect: but this must not lie at my door.

I was very unwilling to reprint my book; but I have been informed, that there hath been a great demand for it (especially in London) and, that it is the best account of the Mahometan religion we have extant in our language: I will say, it is as true as any, for I wrote from my own knowlege, which I never yet heard any Englishman did; nor indeed could he, unless he had been in the like unhappy circumstances with myself.

Several have been very urgent with me, to have it printed at London, assuring me, it would meet with good acceptance. Upon this, I endeavoured to recollect some things which had slipt me in the first edition; and many soon occurred. These have been placed under their respective heads. Besides which, there is Consul Baker's letter in this edition, which could not be in that, because I had not then a copy of it. This I cannot but look upon as a very material addition; for it was what I may call the ground-work of my deliverance. There are some small alterations also made in the style, many mistakes corrected, several things which were misplaced put into somewhat better order, and two cuts, viz. of the several postures of the Mahometans in their public worship, and the temple at Mecca; so that it may very properly be called, the third edition, with additions and amendments.

The late Mr. Lowndes, who was so long secre-

tary to the Treasury, had a great desire to see and converse with me. Accordingly, when I was some years since in London, Consul Baker took me to him. Amongst other discourse, he told me, He was proud that he could say, he had seen an Englishman who had been at Mecca; and withal, assured me, if I would accept of some place, he would use his interest to procure it for me. But I waved it in the best manner I could, for some private reasons.

I have been often reflected upon for my apostasy; which I desire to bear with patience. I deserve abundantly more than this; however, I have this to comfort me, that they are, for the most part, ignorant, or vile persons, whose censures are not much to be minded: nay, I do not remember, that I have been once reproached for it by any of learning or piety. I do not pretend to excuse what I did; but whether it was voluntarily, or I was a true Mussulman, let any judge, when they have considered what hazard I ran in making my escape. I was in a much fairer way for honour and preferment in Algier, than I could expect ever to have been in England.

I have several letters by me which I sent my father while I was in Turkey, and found after my return; but shall not trouble the reader with them. Inclosed in one of them, is a letter to him from Mr. George Taylor, (who was master of the vessel wherein I was taken) dated the 22nd day of October, 1682, from Algier; in which are these words, speaking of me, " I have not seen

him these thirteen or fourteen months; but do hear, by all that come in company of him, that he hath still a Christian heart, which I hope will continue with him to the end of his days."

I do not know of any thing material I can farther add, as to the Religion and Customs of the Mahometans; and therefore my book, though I am sensible it is very imperfect, is as complete now as I can make it.

J. P.

EXON,
May 28th, 1731.

CONTENTS.

CHAP. I.

Containing an account of the Author's being taken by the Algerines. An insurrection designed by the slaves, but prevented. The manner of selling slaves in Algier. A description of Algier, as to its situation, buildings, and fortifications; and of the most remarkable places within the Algerine territories.

CHAP. II.

An account of the Algerines behaviour when at sea; and their superstitious addressing the Marabbots for success. When in great distress, they sacrifice sheep. They are but cowards. An instance of it.

CHAP. III.

Of the Turks manner of eating. An account of several of their dishes. They are much addicted to the cursed and unnatural sin of Sodomy.

CHAP. IV.

An account of the Algerine camps, with the reason of them. Of the Cabyles, a rugged people who

dwell in the mountains, and oftentimes refuse to be tributary to the Dey of Algier. Of the great plenty of wheat and barley in this country. Their wives are drudges; and their fare but coarse.

CHAP. V.

Of the Algerines way of marriage; and the great lamentation the women make for their dead husbands. Of their burials. Also their method of teaching children. They have a mighty veneration for the Alcoran, and Idiots. The ill usage I received from Mustapha, my first Patroon.

CHAP. VI.

Of the preparation the Turks make before they go to their worship in their mosques. The manner of their worship there, and the number of their prayers. The women are not allowed to go to mosque, and have very little liberty in conversation. The Algerines manner of complimenting. They are exceedingly jealous. Of their Hammams, or bathing-houses. Of the Mahometan faith. Their creed, and practical duties. The Ramadan fast.

CHAP. VII.

The Mahometans pilgrimage to Mecca. There are four caravans come thither yearly. Of Alex-

andria, the Nile, and Grand Cairo. Whoredom tolerated. The Egyptians are abusive to strangers. Joseph's Well. Of the Red Sea. The Pilgrim's arrival at Mecca. A description of the Town and Temple there, and the beat Allah in the midst of it. The manner of their Devotion there. Of the Mount where all the Pilgrims receive the honourable title of Hagges, which they retain to their dying day. Their behaviour at Mina, during the Curbean Byram, or feast of Sacrifice. Their sorrowful taking leave of the Beat.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Pilgrim's return from Mecca. A description of the Caravan. Their visit made at Medina to Mahomet's tomb there. The mighty welcome the Hagges receive at their return home; and the great Rejoicing on that occasion. A dreadful plague at Grand Cairo and Alexandria. The Author hath it at Algier. An instance of Algerine villany. Their manner of Wrestling. An account of their Expedition against Oran. A plot. A war between the Dey of Algier, and the Emperor of Fez and Morocco; but matters soon accommodated. Of a tumult at Algier between the Turks and Moors, wherein many of the latter were killed without any just cause.

CHAP. IX.

An account of the Author's turning Mahometan, through the barbarous cruelties and tortures which he suffered; and the Ceremonies used when any turn voluntarily. Of the concern and remorse he had thereupon. A letter from his Father. A letter from him to his Father. He fares rather worse than before he turned, because no true Mussulman. A conspiracy by his Patroon to be Dey of Algier, which proved the ruin of him and his Confederates. The French bombard Algier; their consul, and others, fired off by the Algerines. Of the Author's being sold a third time. One Grey, his confident, turns Turk. A partial Execution. A desperate design of the Cul Ougles, which proved fatal to the conspirators themselves. A Spaniard Renegado cunningly makes his escape. The Author's last Patroon very kind to him.

CHAP. X.

An account of the Author's escape. He gets acquainted with Mr. Butler, who informs Consul Baker of his design. He waits upon the Consul, and hath a letter of recommendation to Consul Raye at Smyrna. He sails with the Algerine ships to the Levant. They take a Venetian Galley, and Captain Paul. The Author arrives at Smyrna; carries Consul Baker's letter to

Consul Raye. A Copy of it. Mr. Eliot his greatest friend. He is under strong temptations. The manner of executing Renegadoes, when re-taken. Two Spanish Renegadoes on the same design with him. He makes his escape in a French ship from Smyrna to Leghorn. Travels through Italy into Germany. Is robbed. Comes to Francfort, where he is denied entrance, but gets in the next day. Obtains a pass, and a letter of recommendation to a Gentleman at Mentz, who had been a slave in Algier. He receives great kindnesses at Cologn, Rotterdam, and Helvoetsluys; but is impressed the first night he lay in England. Sir William Falkener sends him a protection. He arrives at Exeter, and discovers himself to his Father. Their joyful meeting.

THE

RELIGION AND MANNERS

OF THE

MAHOMETANS,

&c. &c.

CHAP. I.

Containing an account of the Author's being taken. Of an Insurrection designed by the Slaves, but disappointed. Of the manner of selling Slaves in Algier.

WHEN I was about fourteen or fifteen years of age, my genius led me to be a sailor, and to see foreign countries; (much contrary to my mother's mind, though my father seemed to yield to my humour) and having made two or three short voyages, my fancy was to range further abroad; for which I sufficiently suffered, as in the sequel of the story will appear.

I shipped myself on Easter Tuesday, anno 1678. with one Mr. George Taylor, master of the Speedwell, of Lymson, near Exeter, (Mr. Alderman George Tuthill, of Exon, Owner) bound to the Western Islands, from thence to Newfoundland,

from thence to Bilboa, from thence to the Canaries, and so home, had God permitted. We got safe to Newfoundland; and our business being ended there, with a fair wind we set sail for Bilboa; and after we had been out about 40 days from Newfoundland, coming near the coast of Spain, (which we knew was the place where the Algerines used to haunt for poor ships that come from the westward,) we looked out sharp for ships, avoiding all we saw; but especially did we look out in the morning, at sun-rising, and in the evening, at sun-setting. The day in which we were taken, our mate, Mr. John Milton, was early at top-mast-head, and cried out, A sail! The master asked him, Where? At leeward, replied the mate, about five or six leagues. And so, to be brief in my relation, about mid-day, being almost overtaken by them, (the enemy being but about a mile distance from us,) our master said, it will be in vain for us to make our flight any longer, seeing it will be but an hour or two ere we shall be taken, and then, probably, fare the worse if we continue our flight. I may leave any person to judge what a heartless condition we were in; but still we could not forbear kenning the ship, that unwelcome object, which, devil-like, was eager in the pursuit of us. All hope now failing, there being no place for refuge, we hauled up our sails, and waited for them. As soon as the pirate came up with us, the captain being a Dutch renegado, and able to speak English, bid us hoist out our boat; which we could not do

without much trouble and time, by reason that a few days before, one of our men, in a great storm, was washed over-board, and I myself was so scalded with boiling water, as to be disabled for working; so that we had but four men that were able: and therefore, before we could make half ready to hoist out our boat, they came aboard us in their own.

I being but young, the enemy seemed to me as monstrous ravenous creatures; which made me cry out, O Master! I am afraid they will kill us and eat us. No, no, child, said my master, they will carry us to Algier, and sell us.

The very first words they spoke, and the first thing they did, was beating us with ropes, saying, Into boat, you English dogs! And without the least opposition, with fear, we tumbled into their boat, we scarce knew how; which, when they had loaded, they carried us aboard their ship, and diligent search was made about us for money, but they found none. We were the first prize they had taken for that voyage, though they had been out at sea about six weeks. As for our vessel, after they had taken out of her what they thought fit, and necessary for their use, they sunk her; for being laden with fish, they thought it not worth while to carry, or send her home to Algier.

About four or five days after our being thus taken, they met with another small English ship, which also came from Newfoundland, with five or six men aboard; which was served as ours was: and two or three days after that, they espied ano-

ther small English vessel, with the like number of men aboard, laden with fish, and coming from New-England. This vessel was, at their first view of her, some leagues at windward of them, and as there was but little wind, they were out of hopes of getting up to her; they therefore used this cunning device, viz. hauled up their sails, and hung out our English king's colours, and so appearing man of war like, decoyed her down, and sunk her also.

Two or three days after this, they took a fourth little English ship, with four or five men aboard, laden with herrings, of which they took out most part, and then sunk her.

And last of all, they met with a small Dutch ship, with seven men, laden partly with pipe staves; which they also sunk. This ship was, as one of the before-mentioned, at a great distance to windward from them, when first espied, and they used the like stratagem to decoy her down, viz. put up Dutch colours; but when the Dutchman came so near as about half a league from him, and perceived him to be a Turk, he began to luff up with all his sail, but to no purpose; for ere it was night, he was overtaken.

I would advise my countrymen, when at sea, to avoid all ships they see, unless they are in great distress; because many have been in this manner taken, who might otherwise have escaped.

This being a summer's voyage, in which season of the year, their ships are usually but very badly manned, (the reason is, because their

camps are out at this time of the year, of which hereafter,) I think the Algerines had not above thirty or forty fighting men aboard; so that there was a great inclination amongst us to rise, and venture our lives for our liberty; and we had no small encouragement, considering that we were near thirty new-taken slaves, besides between twenty and thirty old slaves brought with the pirate out of Algier; for such they usually bring to sail the vessel, and to do all the ship's work for them, while the new slaves are put into irons in the hold, and for a month's time are not able to stand on their legs, nor suffered to come upon deck, being confined either to sit or lie down, without the least provision of bedding to ease themselves. In this sorrowful case we were, insomuch, that we were almost weary of our lives; for you may imagine, that the food we had to sustain nature, was answerable to the rest of their kindness; and indeed, this generally was only a little vinegar, (about five or six spoonfuls,) half a spoonful of oil, and a few olives, with a small quantity of black biscuit, and a pint of water a day.

Well, as I hinted, a platform was laid for our mutinying, and the old English slaves were as fully resolved as the new. The Purtezara, (which is, as we may call him, the boatswain's mate, an Englishman, who had the rigging, and other iron work, in his disposal,) was of the confederacy, and had engaged to supply all the rest with some weapon or other. I think, the first adviser of an

insurrection, was one Mr. James Goodridge, now of Exon, who was one of the old slaves, and a cabin-servant; and in order to it, brought down two naked swords, and a pair of pincers, to loose the iron bar on which we were shackled. All this while none of the Spaniards, or slaves of other nations, knew any thing of our design; and we so ordered it, for fear we should be discovered by them, that only the English and Dutch were privy to it. The night being come when we were resolved to rise, and in order thereto, had loosened the iron bar on which we were shackled, the heart of the Dutch master flagged, and so a stop was put to our design; whereas, had we been all unanimous, the thing might, and in all probability would have been accomplished with a great deal of honour and profit; for it was in the time of Ramadan, (their month of fast,) when they eat meat only by night; and therefore, in the morning, somewhat before day came, they would in all likelihood, have been all fast asleep. This was the time when we designed to put our plot in practice; but the Divine Providence had further trials for us (especially for me) to undergo; as will appear in the progress of this history.

And now with a fresh westerly wind, we entered the straights by day, which the Algerines seldom attempt to do during their wars with us, fearing our men of war. When we came almost in sight of Algier, the boatswain of the ship was ordered to loose the slaves that were in irons; who coming down with a candle, and finding that the key

which was put into the end of the iron bar was broken; O ye English dogs, said he, what, your design was to rise! and after we were loosed, and brought upon deck, he presently told the captain of it, who immediately fell into a very great rage, and caused Mr. John Milton, of Lymson, our mate (who sat at the end of the bar on which we were shackled, and so was suspected to open the key, as indeed he did) to be called forth to the bastinadoes. Accordingly, he was forthwith laid down on the deck, and had his arms turned and held behind him, one man sitting on his legs, and another at his head; and in this posture, the captain, with a great rope, gave him about an hundred blows on his buttocks; but he would not confess the fact, generously choosing rather to suffer himself, than to bring us all under the bastinadoes also.

Soon after our arrival at our undesired haven, viz. Algier, we were carried ashore to the captain's house, and allowed nothing but a little bread and water that night. The next morning, (as their custom is,) they drove us all to the Dey's, or King's house, who makes his choice, and takes the *pengick*, i. e. the eighth part of the slaves for public use, and the same part of the cargo. After which, we were all driven from thence to the battistan, or market-place, where Christians are wont to be sold. There we stand from eight of the clock in the morning, until two in the afternoon, (which is the limited time for the sale of Christians,) and have not the least bit of bread allowed us, during

our stay there. Many persons are curious to come and take a view of us, while we stand exposed to sale; and others, who intend to buy, to see whether we be sound and healthy, and fit for service. The taken slaves are sold by way of auction, and the cryer endeavours to make the most he can of them; and when the bidders are at a stand, he makes use of his rhetoric, Behold, what a strong man is this! What limbs he has! He is fit for any work. And, see what a pretty boy this is! No doubt his parents are very rich, and able to redeem him with a great ransom. And with many such like fair speeches does he strive to raise the price. After the bidders have done bidding, the slaves are all driven again to the Dey's house, where any that have a mind to advance above what was bidden at the Battistan, may; but then, whatsoever exceeds the bidding in that place, belongs not to the pickaroons, or pirates, but goes to the Dey.

As to the city of Algier, it is situated on the side of a hill, and its walls are adjoining to the sea. The tops of the houses are all over white, being flat and covered with lime and sand as floors. The upper part of the town is not so broad as the lower, and therefore at sea it looks just like the top-sail of a ship. It is a very strong place, and well fortified with castles and guns. There are seven castles without the walls, and two tier of guns in most of them; but in the greatest castle, which is on the mole without the gate, there are three tier of guns, many of them of an extraordinary length, carrying 40, 50,

60, 70, yea, 80 pound shot. Besides all these, there is at the higher end of the town, within the walls, another castle with many guns. And moreover, on many places on the walls, towards the sea, are great guns planted. It is well walled, and surrounded with a great trench. It hath five gates, and some of these have two, some, three other gates within them; and some of them plated all over with thick iron; so that it is made strong and convenient for being what it is, a nest of pirates.

About two or three leagues west of Algier, is a town of considerable bigness. I never was so near it as to be able to give an exact description of it; but I was informed that it was one entire stone, which I can hardly give credit to. They have a tradition, that a Christian woman was enchanted there, and therefore call it *Cub. el Romeea*, i. e. The cupola of a Christian woman.

About ten miles off Algier, to the westward also, is a pretty little town called Bleda, accommodated with fine gardens, full of all manner of fruits, and plenty of water; insomuch, that there are upon the river grist mills, which is such a rarity as I seldom, or never saw in any other part of that country. In this town I lived many years with my second patroon. It lies in a spacious and pleasant plain, called *Mateeja*, adjoining to an high mountain, on which live a rude sort of people called Cabyles, who speak a language different from that of the Turks or Moors; of whom I shall have occasion to make mention hereafter.

This town lying so near to Algier, and being so exceeding pleasant and delightful, many Turks marry and reside there; so that there is no need of keeping garrison there, as they do in most other towns within the territories of Algier. This Mateeja, or plain, contains about twenty miles in length, and six or seven in breadth. It is very fruitful, and abounds with many handsome farm-houses. There are several markets weekly kept on it. The Turks do frequently (for their diversion) take their muskets, and make a progress, two or three in a company, through this plain, for ten or twenty days space, living at free quarter, at one farmer's house or other, none daring to refuse them; and many times they abuse their wives too; these, and many more injuries and abuses the poor Moors suffer from the Turks of Algier, which makes them very uneasy under their government; insomuch, that I have often heard them say, that they wished the Christians would come and take Algier, assuring themselves, that they should have better usage from them.

Farther west, almost a days journey, is another town, called Mylliana, a small but handsome town. West of Mylliana, about fifteen miles, is another town called Mazuna, where the Turks keep garrison. Farther west, about three or four days journey, is a town called Mustegollem, where the Turks keep garrison also. And the farthest town in the western territories of Algier is Tillimsan, a town of great note in former days, before Mahomet began his imposture: and indeed, by its strong

walls and gates, and the ruins thereof, which I saw, it seemed so to have been. This is a place abounding in all sorts of curious and delicious fruits. And the women and boys here are reputed the fairest, and most beautiful in all the Algerine dominions, even to a proverb. Here the Turks keep garrison also. When I went into their great mosque, (i. e. their place of public worship) I admired the great door thereof, which was a folding-door, and all solid brass, or bell-metal, with curious workmanship wrought on it. This great gate, they say, was found by the sea-side, supposed to be some wreck, and was brought from thence by a Marabbot (or saint) on his shoulders to Tillimsan, which is about twenty miles. Which Marabbot lies intombed just before the said great door.

To the northward of Tillimsan, joining to the sea, is a strong fortified town called Oran, held by the Spaniards; of which I shall speak anon.

Eastward of Algier, there is scarce a town worth taking notice of, (for I have frequently travelled it) until we come to Constantine, which lies above two hundred miles from Algier. This is the greatest, and strongest town they have in all the eastern parts of their dominions. It is situated on the top of a great rock, so that it needs no walls for its defence. It is difficult for horses to get up to it, the way being steps hewn out in the rock. Here the Turks likewise keep garrison, and the Bey or General hath his dwelling-house. The usual way of executing great criminals here at Constantine,

is pushing them off the clift. About two days journey east of this place, is another town adjoining to the sea, called Beladernah by the Moors, but in our maps Bona; a sea-port town for small vessels, or Gallies. It is walled, very fruitful, and hath a strong castle built on the top of an hill, in which also the Turks keep garrison.

A few leagues east of Bona, is a little island, which is inhabited by the Genoese, whose chief employment is dragging for coral. Both the Algerines, and Tuniseens claim a right to this island, and therefore the Genoese pay tribute to each. I know not certainly how much they pay, but if I mistake not, it is an horse-load of coral every two months to each. The Turks being unskilful in fishing for this coral for their profit, permit the Genoese to dwell here, and have the free enjoyment of their own religion.

Westward of Bona is a little town called Cool. And west of Cool, another called Bugia, lying also by the sea-side, where the Turks likewise keep garrison. Here Sir Edward Sprague, in the year 1670, destroyed several of their ships that were got under the castle for protection, which played briskly on the English with their cannon.

South, or rather south-east of Algier, about three or four days journey, are two towns, the one called Piscree, the other Zammora, both garrisons. They lie near to the Sahra, or desert, which is all sand, and therefore produces no sort of fruit but dates, which always prosper best in sandy countries.

CHAP. II.

Containing an account of the Algerines behaviour when at sea: and their superstitious addressing the Marabbots for success.

THE first thing the Algerines do when any ship comes home from cruising, is with all expedition to take every thing out, ballast and all; and then careen again, and tallow all under water to the very keel. Having so done, they take in all again as fast as they can, and when they are ready, and fit to put to sea, a signal is given for any that will to come on board, and they refuse none that offer themselves, whether they be able, or unable, old, or young. The gunners have two parts or shares of what is taken; and the soldiers the same; the slaves that labour, some two, some three, and some four, but it goes to their Patroons; and all the rest have one part.

The guns being fired, they all take their leave of their friends, saying, *Allah smorla dick;* i. e. I leave you with God. Their friends usually return, *Allah Deumlick weara;* i. e. God give you a good prize. And here it is to be noted, that if there be several ships go out together, then the captain which was first registered, is admiral of the said ships; and none can be registered a captain, until he bring in eight Christian slaves, that so the governor may have the *pengick;* i. e. the one eighth. And every such captain has, when he dies, in

honour of him, an ancient staff set up at the head of his sepulchre, and every sabbath-day, which with them is Friday, his surviving relations hang up their flag on it; and this they do for many years after his decease.

At their return from sea, if they have taken any prize, all the slaves and cargo are sold by way of auction; and all sorts of people, whether Turks, Moors, Jews, or Christians, have their liberty to adavance in bidding; and after the money is paid which is bid, every person receiveth his part, or parts.

The Algerines are a very timorous sort of people, willing to sleep in a whole skin, and therefore care not how little they fight; but shew themselves wondrously valiant upon poor small merchant-men. But many times they have made some attempts on great merchantmen, and have come off with shame and broken bones. And this is not much to be admired at, because they have no order in their engagements, neither is there any punishment for such of the inferior soldiers as fight not.

They dread much our English men of war, and when we have war with them, will seldom venture in or out the Straights-mouth by day, but chiefly in the night time, and that when they have a brisk wind, keeping as near as they can with safety to the Barbary shore. And they were more especially afraid to do it, while Tangier was ours. But if they have peace with us, though they have war with all Christendom besides, they will not then

scruple to pass the Straights-mouth by day, more than by night.

I have often heard them say, that there are none like the English to give them chase; "For "as for other ships, say they, when they have "chased us a while, and see no great probability "of soon overtaking us, they will give over their "pursuit; but as for the English infidels, they "will chase three days after they have lost us.

When they are in the Straights-mouth, they make a gathering of small wax candles, which they usually carry with them, and bind them in a bundle; and then, together with a pot of oil, throw them over-board, as a present to the Marabbot, or saint, which lies intombed there on the Barbary shore, near the sea, and hath so done for many scores of years, as they are taught to believe; not in the least doubting, but the present will come safe to the Marabbot's hands. When this is done, they all together hold up their hands, begging the Marabbot's blessing and a prosperous voyage.* And if they at any time happen to be in a very great strait, or distress, as being chased, or in a storm, they will gather money, and do likewise. Besides which, they usually light up abundance of candles in remembrance of some dead Marabbot or other, calling upon him with heavy sighs, and groans. At such times also they collect

*Here is true Sergius; this is exactly or a *pro nobis*, and indeed their whole religion is a miscellany of Popery, Judaism, and the Gentilism of the Arabs; as may be seen in Dr. Prideaux's excellently written life of Mahomet.

money, and wrap it in a piece of linen cloth, and make it fast to the ancient staff of the ship, so dedicating it to some Marabbot; and there it abides till the arrival of the ship, when they bestow it in candles, or oil, to give light, or in some ornament to beautify the Marabbot's sepulchre. For these Marabbots have generally a little neat room built over their graves, resembling in figure their mosques, or churches, which is very nicely cleansed, and well looked after. There are several of them about Algier, to which the women on Fridays flock to pay their visits, and perform their salah, or prayer, begging of the Marabbot to hear and answer their petitions. Many people there are who will scarce pass by any of them without lifting up their hands, and saying some short prayer. And so great a veneration have they for these Marabbots, that they will hardly believe one another, unless oath be made by one or other of them.

But to return to their custom at sea. If they find no succour from their before-mentioned rites and superstitions; but that the danger rather increases, then they go to sacrificing of a sheep (or two or three upon occasion, as they think needful), which is done after this manner: having cut off the head with a knife, they immediately take out the entrails, and throw them, and the head overboard; and then with all the speed they can (without skinning) they cut the body into two parts by the middle, and throw one part over the right side of the ship, and the other over the left, into the sea, as a kind

of propitiation. Thus those blind infidels (as the papists do, to whom they really seem to be a-kin in several things,) apply themselves to imaginary intercessors, instead of the living and true God, who alone is able to command the swelling, and mounting billows of the sea to be quiet and still.

As I intimated before, they are wondrously valiant against a weak enemy, and vigorous in their chase after small vessels; and so careful are they that nothing may hinder their speed, that they will scarce suffer any person in the ship to stir, but all must sit stock-still, unless necessity otherwise require. And all things that are capable of any motion, must be fastened, or unhanged, (even the smallest weight,) lest the pursuit should be something retarded thereby.

But as they are eager upon a small ship, so if it happen at any time that they chase a great one, they will slack their pace as soon as they come near enough to apprehend what she is; or if at any time they see a ship preparing to fight them, their courage is apt to be very soon daunted. Many ships of twelve, ten, or but ight guns, have escaped their hands very manfully, whilst the Turks have come home shattered, and with shame. Many instances of this nature might be related, but I will only mention one, which happened not long before I came away out of the country.

There was an Algerine at sea, and he met with a Dutch vessel, which, as I well remember, had but tens guns, and it may be about sixteen men; whereas the Algerine had between twenty and thirty

guns, and was very well manned. The Dutch vessel by courage got clear, and the cowardly Algerine made haste home much shattered, and reported that he had fought with a great Flushing privateer; and it past all for truth. But it happened, that a few days after, the same Dutch merchantman was met by another Algerine of about the same bigness with the former, and the poor Dutchman having lost some of his men, and others wounded, and being much disabled, was at last forced to yield, and was brought into Algier, to the great shame of the other Algerine, who was sufficiently checked for his cowardise, and had much ado to escape the bastinadoes. So that the Algerines are not in truth such daring sparks as they are thought to be. And I verily believe that many ships, much unequal to them in strength, might escape being taken, if they would but appear brave, and look them boldly in the face.

CHAP. III.

An account of the Turks' manner of eating. They are much addicted to the cursed and unnatural sin of Sodomy.

IT may not be altogether frivolous, or unacceptable, to give you a very brief account of the Turks' manner of eating.

Their low round-table being placed, not above three or four inches from the floor, they all sit down cross legged, as tailors do when they are at

work on their shopboard; having a napkin that reaches all round to wipe with. The victuals being put on the table, every one says his grace, (more it is to be feared, than thousands of such as call themselves Christians do) and that is, *Be isme allah;* i. e. In the name of God. The same expression they use in all things they set about, to the shame of those who pretend to more, and yet have not God in all their thoughts, as the Psalmist speaks of some wicked men. The meat is always seasoned before it comes to the table, so that they make use of no salt there. Neither are knives, or forks of any use then, because the flesh which they boil is always cut into pieces while raw, (and so is what they roast) and after that, they parboil it, then take it out with the liquor, and then put in the flesh again, with roots or cabbage, or what the season doth afford, cut small, together with a little pepper, herbs and onions; after which they pour in a small quantity of the liquor again, and stew it so long, that it is no very hard matter to shake the flesh off the bones; this they call by the name of *terbeea.* The sauce for it is an egg beaten with the juice of a lemon.

With the remainder of the before-mentioned liquor they make a dish which they call *pillou.* They take two measures of this, and one of rice, or burgoe, i. e. Wheat boiled, dried, and ground not very small. When the liquor boils, the rice being washed, or the burgoe unwashed, is put into the pot; in a little time the liquor is soaked up, and the pot taken off the fire.

They then melt some butter to an oil, and pour it into the pot, and keep it close covered; after which they take out the rice of *burgoe* with a spoon into a dish, and form it in the shape of a sugar-loaf, shaking pepper over it. The butter should be pretty much seen in the dish around the rice.

Another dish they call *dolmah*, of which there are divers sorts, as *sueoane dolmah*, i. e. onion *dolmah;* for *dolmah* signifies to fill. They take large onions, skin them, and cut both ends; then cut them half way in by the side, and take out several skins or parts, filling them with their meat, which is minced very small, putting a little rice, pepper, and salt mixed together. The bones they put in the bottom of the pot, next stew the onions so filled, then a little water not covering the onions, and so let it stew. They also wrap such minced flesh in vine leaves, and then it is called *yoprock dolmah;* the name of this leaf is *yoprock*. Sometimes it is done with cabbage leaves, which they call *lauhna dolmah*. The sauce for this is only lemon.

As for roast meat, they cut the flesh into small pieces, stick three or four of them upon an iron skewer, and so set them before the fire; at the cook's shops, the pieces are no bigger than the bowl of a pipe. This is called *cobbob*.

Sometimes, when they have minced the meat as above without rice, they make it into little cakes, and fry them in a pan with butter; to which they give the name of *keufta*. The sauce is onions

sliced thin, and fried in vinegar, and so poured upon it.

What they call mackaroon is some paste made only with flour and water, of which they take a bit as big as a bean, and put it on the middle of a wire, rolling it between their hand till it be two or three inches long, and no bigger than the small end of a tobacco-pipe; then boil it in water with three or four whole onions, and when in the dish, mix it with grated cheese, and pour butter on it, as above.

I could here enlarge upon the several sorts of their victuals, and their manner of cookery, which I am well acquainted with; but this would eat up too great a part of my little book As they use no knives or forks at table, so neither do they trenchers, or plates; for their tables serve instead of them. They usually eat quick, and having done, every one returns thanks, saying, *el ham do lillali;* i. e. thanks be to God.

The table being removed, (before they rise) a slave, or servant, who stands attending on them with a cup of water to give them drink, steps into the middle with a bason, or copper pot of water, (somewhat like a coffee-pot) and a little soap, and lets the water run upon their hands one after another, in order as they sit; and they also wash their mouths after eating.

As for their drink, it is well known that wine is forbidden by the Mahometan law, (and so is swine's flesh,) and beer and cyder they are altogether strangers to; so that their common drink is

water; except at some certain times, they make a sherbet with water and sugar. They are great coffee drinkers, but coffee is not to quench thirst. However, though wine be forbidden, there is no punishment for those who offend in this respect; and yet none used to drink it, but the rascality. For a person of figure and reputation, will by no means drink wine, because it is contrary to his principles, and so is a scandal to his reputation. And as for such as take to drink it, they generally do it so immoderately, that they hardly leave off till they are drunk, and then they are extremely abusive, and quarrelsome, sometimes even to murder: for there are no good natured drunkards, as some among us are said to be; though I am of opinion they would be much better natured if they were not to be drunk at all.

When their camps are setting forth, (of which in the next chapter) then especially are the soldiery apt to drink, and are abominably rude, insomuch that it is very dangerous for women to walk in any by place, but more for boys; for they are extremely given to sodomy: and therefore care is taken that it be cried about the town, that all people take care of their wives, and children. And yet this horrible sin of sodomy is so far from being punished amongst them, that it is part of the ordinary discourse to boast of their detestable actions of that kind. It is common for men there to fall in love with boys, as it is here in England to be in love with women: and I have seen many when they have been drunk, give themselves deep

gashes on their arms with a knife, saying, it is for the love they bear to such a boy. There are many so addicted to this prodigious sin, that they loathe the natural use of the women; (such the apostle inveighs against. Rom. i. 27.) And I assure you, that I have seen several who have had their arms full of great cuts, as so many tokens of their love (or rather worse than bestial lust) to such their catamites. But this being so inhuman, and unnatural a thing, I profess, I am ashamed to enlarge further upon it, as I could: but what I could say on this subject, must needs be disgustful to every modest, and Christian reader; and therefore, I think, I am obliged to forbear: only I crave leave to make this reflection, viz. "That intemperance "in drinking hurries men on to the worst of vices; "and though the inclination of these hot people, "and the countenance which is given to such "crimes are two great incentives; yet, avoiding in-"temperance, they would be less liable to them."

As I have observed, when their camps are setting out, it is a sort of licentious time, and a rendezvous of all wickedness imaginable; a true account of the order, and management of these therefore I will now give you, in the following chapter.

CHAP. IV.

An account of the Algerine camps, with the reason of them. Of the Cabyles, a rugged people who dwell in the mountains.

THE Algerines, in the month of April, have three several camps go forth; one to the east, another to the west, and a third to the south; of which the first is the greatest, and consists of about an hundred tents, each tent containing twenty men. The western camp consists of about seventy or eighty the like tents; and the southern camp but of fifteen. Each of these divisions hath a bey, or general, who gives so many thousand pieces of eight monthly for his place to the dey, or governor of Algier; besides which, he is to defray the whole cost, and charges of the camp, to make due provision of bread, butter, oil, and wheat to make burgu, as also flesh for them twice a week, and barley for the horses. It is to be observed, that every tent have their allowance, which is far more than they can dispense with: and therefore, they have the liberty to take what they think will serve them, and the rest in money, which they divide among themselves.

The bey's tent is pitched in the middle of the camp, and all the others are pitched so close together that a horse cannot pass; and this is so ordered, that there may be but one entrance into the

camp, which is directly toward the door of the bey's tent, (I suppose for the better security, and also) to signify that that way they are to take, upon their next removal, to which the door of the bey's tent points. Each bey may have, as I conjecture, about four or five hundred miles in his circuit, excepting him that leads the southern camp, for the country is not far inhabited to the southward. Every tent hath sixteen soldiers, one *oscha*, or cook, one *otha bashe*, or serjeant, one *beulick bashe*, who is above the serjeant, or head of a company, (what we call a captain) and one *vekil harg*, or steward, (under the *otha bashe*) who looks after the provision; which amounts, as I said before, to the complement of twenty men to every tent.

At the end of seven years, an *otha bashe* is preferred to be a *beulick bashe*, and so by degrees to a higher office, till he comes to be *aga*, or colonel. And with a great deal of splendour, he remains in that post for the space of two months; after which, he is not obliged to do any service at all, but receives his pay, which is duly brought to him every two months. So that offices of this nature, are conferred, without respect of persons, in a constant order.

Each tent hath, moreover, three or four horses, and two or three camels, to carry the provision and baggage; and three or four servants are allowed to drive and look after these beasts. The *vekil harg*, or steward of every tent, hath a horse to himself, which carries the tent. These stew-

ards go before, with the servants, and baggage, and after them go the cooks, with their horses, viz. each cook a horse, carrying the utensils, and other things belonging to his profession; which are a very good burden. The cooks go in order, one close after another, but always on foot, being never permitted to ride on their horses, because they have a sufficient burden without them.

When they come to the place where they intend to pitch, as soon as the bey's tent is mounted, every cook, with his respective steward, mount their tents all at once. This being done, the cook of every tent rides with all convenient speed, to fetch water in his goatskins to dress victuals for the soldiers, and for them to drink.

The servants belonging to each tent, make all the speed they can to get ready provender, &c. for the horses. And the steward is no less busy to put all things in order, before the soldiers arrive: so that when these come to their tents, they find all things ready, and have nothing to do but to take off their accoutrements, clean their arms from the dust, and dispose of them into their proper places, and then, if it so please them, to spread their bedding on the mats, and so lie down to take their repose, till the steward awakes them to eat; insomuch, that I am apt to believe, no soldiers in the whole world take less pains, and live more at ease, than they do.

In their march, they move but two in a breast, each rank keeping at a considerable distance; so that a thousand men make a great show, and a

very long train. The *cayah- beulick,* or lieutenant, rides in the van of the army, with two *hoages,* or clerks, each of them bearing a flag. The serjeants follow on foot: And then comes the aga; and him follows the bey with trumpets, drums, pipes, kettle-drums, and such-like warlike music. They have a pretty odd way of beating their drums, viz. The drummer beats with a drum-stick, knobbed at the end in his right hand, upon the head of the drum; and the bottom of it, he at the same time strikes with a small wand, which he holds in his left hand.

The bey is accompanied with his *spahyes,* or troopers, who generally wear a crimson cloak, woven all in one piece; so that there is no need of a tailor to cut, or shape it, only a little joining together under the chin, and on the breast; it hath a cape to cover the head in case of rain. But some of their cloaks are white. On their heads they have turbans of red silk sashes. Every trooper hath a pack-horse to carry his bedding, clothes, and all necessaries, with his servant riding thereon. And every soldier is very neat in keeping his arms, and will not suffer the least spot to be upon them.

In their march, they are attended with several *sacces,* or water-carriers, to supply them with water, which every soldier takes at his pleasure with a copper dish, which he hath hanging at his side for that purpose: and as soon as the water is spent, the carriers ride hastily for more.

They do not travel very hard, for they march in

a day, not above eight, ten, or twelve miles; unless it be at the season of their returning home, and then they travel from morning to night.

The eastern camp makes it return from a town called Constantine, about fourteen days journey from Algier, after having kept out about six months. The western camp stays out about four, and the southern about three months. And as soon as ever the very day of their expedition is expired, the soldiers will return home in spite of the bey's commands, or menaces, whether the business and design of it be effected or no. The reason and intent of the Algerines setting forth these camps, is to overawe the Moors, and to cause them to hasten in their tribute to the bey; which whether they do or no, I say, the soldiers will not stay in the camp beyond their stated time.

And now, as I did in the second chapter acquaint my countrymen with the cowardise of the Algerines at sea, (of which really advantage may be made by those who shall at any time happen to be attacked by them,) so I will here give you a little account of their valour by land, which is much like that at sea.

They know very well, that the Moors, their tributaries, are but of small courage, and are commonly for a running fight; but if they happen to stand, the Turks are easily daunted. But it seldom happens that the Moors keep their ground, except it be some sort of them, viz. Cabyls, who live in mountains, and are a very rugged sort of people, and care not to pay the tribute demanded

of them by the bey: at which he is enraged, and oftentimes gives toleration to the soldiers, to do what mischief they can to them, to take their cattle, persons, wives, and children, and gratify their base lusts as they please; and also to destroy their corn, burn their houses, and ruin their vineyards, if in their power so to do. These Cabyls dwell in small houses, but little better than hog-styes; and the Moors who live in the plains, dwell in tents of hair-cloth.

I do not wonder to see the cruelty and barbarity they often use towards poor Christians, whilst they are so inhuman to those of the Mahometan religion with themselves, as to destroy them and theirs for a small matter. For frequently, the cause of falling out between the Moors and the bey is very trivial; it may be, for not paying in full to two or three shillings; or something as inconsiderable. But after all their resistance and obstinacy, the Moors are (most commonly) so distressed by numbers, that they are forced to come and submit themselves to the bey, paying the full sum demanded, to petition for their wives and children, and pay dearly for their ruggedness.

Many of these Moors never knew what a Christian is. I have travelled eastward and westward, to the utmost bounds of their territories; and I remember, when I was journeying with my patroon from Bona, which is some hundreds of miles eastward of Algier, we did every night quarter in the Moors' tents; and they would, men, women, and children, flock to see me; and I was much ad-

mired by them for having flaxen hair, and being of a ruddy complexion. I heard some of them say, Behold, what a pretty maid it is! Others said, I never saw a Nazarene (i. e. a Christian) before. I thought they had been (said some) like unto *Hallewfs* (or swine) but I see now that they are *Benn Adam* (or children of men.)

The Moors are a people much given to sloth, for after sowing time they have little to do, nor do they betake themselves to any thing, but only wait for the harvest; at which time their corn being cut, and brought all together, they immediately tread it, and winnow it, and then put it into great pits, in the open field. The mouth of these mutmors, or pits, is but small, but within the cavity is much greater; being dug all round, and of some considerable depth. They put straw into the bottom, and round by the sides of those pits, and then they put in their corn, and so cover it over with earth, laid on some sticks, and straw upon that, on the mouths of them, which they cause to be even with the surface of the ground; so that by this means their corn is preserved when they are put to flight by the bey, but much damnified, being kept in so damp a place, instead of a barn.

They never dress or dung their ground, as we do, and yet they have great plenty; for it is a common thing to see ten, sometimes fifteen, yea, twenty stalks, shoot up together; nay, I have heard told of sixty, or more, which is wonderful! This plenty is of wheat and barley, for rye and oats they have none; and truly they have no

need of them, for as many of our country people feed on rye, so they feed on barley, and most of their wheat they sell in towns, and markets, to raise the money exacted of them by the Turks. And as our horses are fed with oats, so theirs with barley.

These Moors are so very lazy, that they make their wives saddle their horses while they go to ease themselves, which they are ashamed to do in a plain and open place, and therefore go a pretty way off, accounting it a great piece of rudeness to do it in the sight of another. As for their wives, they are, indeed, little better than slaves; for they do not only what is properly women's work, but grind all the corn used in the house, and fetch all the wood and water on their backs, and oftentimes at a considerable distance. They also bake their bread, daily, on earthen pans, and milk their kine, and do all other things of the like nature, that are to be done. And notwithstanding all this, if they have any vacant time in the day, they employ it in grinding of corn; which they do with such cheerfulness and singing, that I have often admired how they could go through so much work without complaining, much more, how they could do it with so much pleasure.

The women are not permitted to eat at the table with their husbands, but, must take what they are pleased to leave them. Their fare is generally bread and milk, and *cuska seu*, which is made of meal and water. They take a little meal, and sprinkle water on it in a broad wooden plat-

ter, and then stir it about with the palm of their hand, till it becomes as small seeds, or gunpowder; when they have done this, they put it into a cullender, which they set on the mouth of the pot that is boiling on the fire with victuals, &c. In a little time, the steam gets up through the *cuska seu* (in the cullender,) and it becomes altogether of a lump, then they turn it out into a platter, and beat it abroad, and so mix it with butter. After this, they turn out of the pot that is boiling, the broth, &c. upon the *cuska seu*, and almost cover it with the liquor, which in a little time it soaks up, and then they eat it with their hands, making use of no spoons, i. e. in the country amongst the Boors. Their fare, therefore, being so mean, and yet the women not being suffered to partake of it with their husbands, one would think it should be but a small encouragement to marriage. I am persuaded our country dames would esteem it so. This leads me to give some account of the Algerines' way of marriage, which I shall, therefore, do in the next chapter.

CHAP. V.

Of the Algerines' way of marriage; and the great lamentation the women make for their dead husbands. Also their way of teaching children. And of the ill usage I received from Mustapha, my first Patroon, &c.

THERE is no such privilege allowed among the Turks as wooing or courting their mistresses; nay, a man is not permitted to speak one word to her whom he intends to make his spouse, nor to have the least glimpse or sight of her, till just before such time as he is to go to the nuptial bed with her.

The father of the damsel usually makes up the match; though there are some persons who make it their business to be match-makers, (a dangerous employment in Europe, and too often a curse-procurer:) when matters are adjusted, and every thing agreed upon, the man to be married, together with some of his intended wife's relations, goes to the *kadee*, i. e. judge, or magistrate, and before him draws up some small instrument in writing, wherein he promiseth to pay so much to his wife, which shall be for her sadock, or jointure; and there is an end of the matrimony, without any further ceremony or formality, as of, I John take thee Joan, &c. The father of the damsel promiseth little or nothing, but, it may be, will

set forth his daughter with a few fine clothes and bedding, or the like, and that is all.

The time being come when they are to bed together, they usually make a little feast, and invite their friends, who are to depart, (i. e. the men,) immediately after eating their meat; but the women tarry till they see the bride-folks in bed. After the entertainment is over, the bridegroom is put into the chamber alone with a candle, and after a little time, the bride is put in to him, and the chamber-door made fast; [redacted] If the man and wife agree together in love, the before-mentioned sadoc is not at all required, because there is no occasion for it; but if things happen ill, a divorce commonly ensues, and then the man is liable to pay the woman what was the original agreement, and maintain such children as are begotten by him, during the time of their cohabitation.

The parties being thus divorced, they are both free to marry again, whom and when they please; and it is a thing very common amongst them so to do; for I have known many instances of it.

It hath been reported, that a Mahometan may have as many wives as he pleaseth, though, if I mistake not, the number may not exceed four; but there is not one in a thousand hath more than one, except it be in the country, where some here and

there, may have two; yet I never knew but one which had so many as three.

The women (in the country especially,) do, for the most part, manifest a great deal of sorrow for their deceased relations; especially for their husbands. Some, if they can, will get their garments dyed black, but at least they will be sure to take a little oil or grease, and soot, and therewith smut their faces almost all over, and make most hideous cries and lamentations. The neighbouring women usually come and condole, it may be, twenty or thirty of them together; who all place themselves round the woman that hath lost her relation, making so prodigious a noise, as may be heard sometimes near half a mile off; all the while scratching their faces with their nails, till they make the blood run down their cheeks.

Thus they continue to do half an hour, and more, at a time, every day, for a considerable space; and afterwards once a week, or as the fit shall take the widow; and thus in and out, it may be, for a whole year.

The method of the Mahometans' burials is thus, They carry the corpse upon a bier, the head foremost, going along a good pace, and some singing before it; when they come to a certain place without the gate, they pitch (or rest) the corpse, and some who accompany it, perform two *erkaets*, or prayers. After this, they take up the corpse again, and go on to the grave, which is dug pretty broad at the bottom, but narrow at the top, just fit to put in the corpse, which they always lay with the

head towards the *kebla*, or Mecca. They cover the body with broad stones, and then throw in the earth. Some poor people do usually attend at the grave, reciting something which they have got by heart. This they do, though they are not hired, for the sake of a piece of bread-cake, and a handful of figs, which it is common to distribute at such times.

As for the burial of Christian slaves, I was informed, that formerly they would not permit such to be interred, but threw their dead bodies into the sea. The king of Spain being moved at this, purchased a piece of ground for a burial-place for Christian slaves, where they are buried to this day. It is without *Bab el wait*, or, the western gate, adjoining to the Jews' burying-place, within a stone's cast of their own, viz. the Algerines, a sandy place close to the sea.

All the charges a patroon is at in burying his slave, is to hire four slaves, for about six-pence apiece, giving them also a blanket, or some such like old thing, to wrap him up in, and then he leaves it wholly to them. In a time of the plague, when several die in a day, it is common to carry two at once upon a bier, and throw them into the same pit.

The slaves are buried very soon after death hath done his office; nay, sometimes, it is to be feared, before. I have been told of one, who, when he was carrying along to be interred, rose up on the bier, to the astonishment of the bearers, and was

brought back again to his patroon's house, where he lived many years after.

In the country, not one among an hundred wears any shoes, but they generally go bare-foot and bare-legged. The men wear neither shirts nor drawers, and but few of them any thing on their heads; only a flannel wrapt about their bodies. Some of the better sort, indeed, have something like a cloak about them.

And as for the women, they wear a piece of flannel before, down half way the leg, and so behind, pinning the two ends on their shoulders, with skewers, or little iron pins; and they have a woollen rope about their middle.

They have great plenty of camels and sheep, as well as corn; though (as I hinted) they bestow no dressing at all.

As for their children, when young, they take no pains to bring them to go; but leave them to crawl about, till they can walk of themselves. They teach them to swear by their Maker, as soon as they can speak. The female sex are seldom taught to read.

The compendious method which they (i. e. the Moors,) take to teach their children to read and write, is this, viz. every one hath a thin board of oak, scowered white, to write on; their ink is commonly a little burnt wool, mixed with water, and their pen is made of a cane; for they hold it to be unlawful to write with a quill, as Christians do. The scholar being thus furnished, after some few directions, the master speaks the boy's lesson,

which is some of the alcoran, and the boy writes it; and having written it, is not only bound to read it, but to learn it without book. And thus he is to do every day, till he hath retained a considerable part of the alcoran in his memory. The boy having learned his day's lesson, rubs it out, and then whitens his table again, to write down the next day's lesson on.

I have known it to be a common thing ("Though "I must speak it with shame, to consider how "the Holy Bible, the heavenly oracles, the word "by which we must be judged at the last day, is "slighted and neglected among us") for traders and shop-keepers, and such as have more leisure than many others have, to set themselves a daily task, to recite so much of the alcoran without book, as in thirty days to take up the whole; and this many continue to do all their lifetime, believing that they merit much by it. ("I wish that "Christians were as diligent in studying the "Holy Scriptures, the law, and the gospel, where-"in we have eternal life, as those infidels are in "poring upon that legend of falsities, and abomi-"nable follies and absurdities.") At the end of every time they read, in order to remember such a part of the alcoran, they hold up their two hands at a little distance from their face, say some short prayer, begging a blessing on what they have done, then smooth down their face with their hands, and so much for that time. This many do in their youth, and retain what they read to their dying day. They are, (for the greater part) illi-

terate, and yet value reading at an high rate; insomuch, that many, to my knowledge, have begun their *elif*, *be*, *te*, i. e. as I may say, their A, B, C, when they have had grey hairs; and I have heard several say, *Ocue mok billei dem!* i. e. Oh! that I could but read! lamenting much the squandering of their youth.

The pronunciation of Arabic is very difficult, for every letter must have its proper sound. Some are gutturals, and some must be pronounced from the roof of the mouth, and sometimes the mouth must be brought awry to pronounce the word aright: all these things, likewise, the scholar must give an account of to his master.

They have a very great veneration for their books, but most especially for the alcoran, which they call, *calam allah*, i. e. the word of God; and on the cover of it there is written (commonly in golden letters) *la ta messa ha billa metah herat*, i. e. touch not without being clean, or being washed. [Of their cleansing I shall speak hereafter.] They will never suffer the alcoran to touch the ground, if they can help it; and if it chance at any time to fall, they check themselves for it, and with haste and concern recover it again, kiss it, and put it to their forehead in token of profound respect. When they hold it in their hands, they will never let it be below their middle, accounting it too worthy to be touched by any of the lower parts.

If they are going a journey, and carry it with them, as usually they do, they will be sure to se-

cure it well in a searcloth, and in a cloth bag, hanging it under their arm-pits. And if at any time, they have occasion to go to stool, or make water, they must take it off, and lay it at a distance from them, at least one fathom, and then wash before they take it in hand again; or if they cannot come by any water, then they must wipe as clean as they can, till water may conveniently be had (or else it suffices to take *abdes* upon a stone, which I call an imaginary *abdes*, i. e. smooth their hands over a stone two or three times, and rub them one with the other, as if they were washing them with water. The like *abdes* sufficeth when any are sickly, so that to use water might endanger their life.) And after they have so wiped, it is *gaise*, i. e. lawful to take the book in hand again: but they are still uneasy, till they come to water. They think they cannot prize the alcoran enough, and that there cannot be too much care in preserving it. Nay, I have known many that could not read one tittle of it, to carry some part of it always about them, esteeming it as a charm to preserve them from hurt and danger. And, if any mishap do notwithstanding befal them, they will rather impute it to their own demerit, than to any defect of virtue in the part of the alcoran.

They have so great an esteem for this book, that they will not suffer a scrap of clean paper to lie on the ground, but take it up, and kiss it, and then put it into some hole or cranny or other, because on such the name of God is, or may be written. I have heard them oftentimes condemn the Chris-

tians for the little regard they have to their books: for, say they, you will use the paper of them to burn, or light your pipes, or to put to the vilest uses.

They have a great veneration for idiots, accounting them no less than inspired; and the reason is, because Mahomet, when he devoted himself to a solitary life in the cave near Mecca, by much fasting, and an austere way of living, greatly impaired his health, so that he began to talk, and behave himself like a natural.

The correction they give scholars, or children at work, is beating them on the bare feet; and the punishment inflicted on soldiers, is beating them on the buttocks, and this frequently with such severity, though the crime be not very great, as to make the blood come out through their drawers; and sometimes the flesh mortifies thereupon, so that they must have some part cut off in order to a cure. If they are so rigorous, and severe among themselves, well may you think what cruelty they exercise towards the poor captives!

Within eight and forty hours after I was sold, I tasted of their barbarity; for I had my tender feet tied up, and beaten twenty or thirty blows for a beginning: and thus was I beat for a considerable time, every two or three days, besides blows now and then, forty, fifty, sixty, at a time. My executioner would fill his pipe, and then give me ten, or twenty blows, then stop, and smoke his pipe for a while, and then he would at me again, and when weary stop again; and thus cruelly would

he handle me till his pipe was out. At other times, he would hang me up neck and heels, and then beat me miserably. Sometimes he would hang me up by the arm-pits, beating me all over my body. And oftentimes hot brine was ordered for me to put my feet in, after they were sore with beating; which made them smart exceedingly, and put me to intolerable pain. Sometimes I have been beaten on my feet so long, and cruelly, that the blood hath ran down to the ground. I have given an account in another chapter, of the cruelties I suffered, and therefore I shall only tell you for the present, that I have oftentimes been beaten by my patroon so violently, that I have not been able to sit for a considerable time.

I was sold three times; my first patroon was called Mustapha, the second Ibraham, and the third Eumer: but I must needs acknowledge, that with my last patroon I lived very comfortably. But this was not satisfaction; I longed still to be gone out of this country, and my chief reason was, that I might worship God as I ought. As for the Mahometan worship I was persuaded it could not be agreeable to his will: and I suppose every one must agree with me herein, when they have read the account I give of it in the next chapter.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Mahometan faith. The preparation they make before they go to their worship in their mosques: and the manner of their worship there. Of their hammams, or bathing-houses. The Ramadan fast.

THOUGH a strict outward devotion be found amongst the Mahometans, yet almost all manner of wickedness and immorality, (except murder and theft,) are left unpunished. But as for those who are religious in their way, they will not live in the neglect of performing their *salah* or *nomas*, i. e. their worship,* might they gain ever so much. Nay, there are some among them so zealous, that after they are reformed from their former extravagancies, they labour to make up what they have run back in the time of youth by their neglect of *salah*, and in order to fetch up their *arrears*, they will be out of their beds an hour or two before day, and having prepared themselves, will be engaged in their devotion till they are quite tired.

I very well remember my last patroon, who was an ancient man, would spend many mornings in this exercise. Whilst I was a-bed he would be up, and having washed himself as usual, would be at his devotion. I asked him the reason of it. He

* *Salah* is the Arabic, and *nomas* the Turkish word for their worship, or devotion.

told me, when he was young he lived in the omission of his duty; for as for *nomas*, he paid no regard to it; but now he would endeavour to make amends for all past neglects.

Their *salah* is to be performed five times every day, at *mosque*, or church, unless in case of extraordinary business or hindrance; and even then, though they may be prevented at the set times, yet they are not wholly excused from the performance of it, but are obliged to do it afterwards, either in the *mosques*, or some other convenient place.

The stated times of public worship are, *first*, In the morning, when the day-light is broke, before the candles are out, be it winter or summer; this is called *sobboh nomas*. The *second* performance of *salah*, is near about two of the clock in the afternoon; which is called *eulea nomas*. The *third* is about four of the clock, called *ekinde nomas*. The *fourth* is just after candle lighting, called *acsham nomas*. And the *last*, about an hour and half after night, called *gega*, or *el asheea nomas*.

In all these times of service they differ as to the number of their devotions, (which are all taken out of the Alcoran,) and also the manner of performing them; in both which they are very exact, as I shall further acquaint you by and by. And I believe I may be bold to say, that hardly any man hath ever given so full, and punctual a description of the manner of their worship, as the sequel contains.

I shall speak, first, of the care and pains they take to prepare themselves, ere they can set about

their devotion. And, next, of their behaviour in the performing of it.

First then, concerning their preparations. In the morning, as soon as they are up, the first thing they do is, going to the necessary house, carrying with them a pot of water, somewhat like a coffee-pot, holding about a quart. After they have evacuated, they take the pot in their right hand, and let the water run into the left hand, and therewith wash their posteriors, &c. [Note, that when men make water, they do it in the same posture as women do; the reason of which is, lest the least drop should fall upon their clothes, or even their shoes; for they hold, that urine doth defile as much as ordure;] and thus they keep washing till the pot of water is all spent; which being done, they take another pot of water, and turning up their sleeves above the elbow, therewith wash their hands, first of all, three times; then they fill the right hand full of water, and soop it into their mouth, and with the right thumb rub the right jaws, and with the right fore-finger rub the left: which being done three times, they fill the right hand again with water, and snuff it up into their nostrils three times, as often blowing their nose. After which they wash their face three times, then wash their arms up as far as the elbow; then wet the right hand, and with the left take off their cap, bringing their right hand over their naked head, (for they shave their heads weekly;) then they wet both hands again, and thrust the two fore-fingers into their ears, rubbing the ears behind with the

two thumbs; and then wet their necks with the two little fingers. They also wash their feet very well, as far as the ancles. And, in the last place, they wet both hands again, and then hold up the fore-finger of the right hand, saying, *La allah ellallah*, Mohammed *Resul Allah*, i. e. There is but one God, and Mahomet the prophet, or messenger of God; and holding up the fore-finger when they express these words, is done to signify the unity.

Now when they have washed, or taken *abdes* in the morning, it may serve for the whole day after, with this *proviso*, viz. that they keep themselves clean, i. e. from going to stool, and making water, and breaking wind backward, and from the least sign of blood on any part of their body; for if they discover the smallest speck of blood, it is thought to make them unclean as much as any of the other escapes: and if it be no more than the scratch of a pin, they must wash again after it, before they can go to their worship. Or if after they have taken *abdes*, they find the least drop of candle-wax on their hand, they must take a fresh *abdes*, because the place under the said wax was not wet.

Three times a day, at least, they take *abdes*; but they must do it five times, if they are not satisfied of their being clean. They are so very ceremonious in these matters, that they commonly keep the nails of their fingers closely pared, because their fingers are always in the victuals when they eat, so that the fat or grease is apt to gather under their nails, and so to hinder the water from penetrating there, when they take abdes; and

therefore to have long nails is not *gaise*, i. e. lawful. But yet they say it is more lawful for those that live in the country, because their food is not so gross as theirs who live in towns and cities is. And besides, seeing their labour is mostly about husbandry, and consequently the earth gathers under their nails, which the water can easily soak through, the country people are not so strict in paring of their nails.

If they chance to sleep between the times of prayers, then they must also take a fresh *abdes;* and the reason is, because they are not sure whether they brake wind in their sleep or no.

Nay, I assure you, I have seen many go out of the mosque in the midst of their devotion, to take a fresh *abdes;* because the former hath been spoiled some or other of the forementioned ways.

The performance of *sallah* is incumbent upon the female sex, as well as the men; though I think there are few of them but live in the neglect of it, for they are never permitted to enter into their mosques; nay, it would be thought rude in them to be seen there. And besides, it is more difficult for the women duly to perform *sallah* upon another account, viz. because they must be very careful to watch their *menstrua;* for while these are upon them, there is no performing of *sallah*.

I have been very particular in relating these their preparatory ceremonies, because they think themselves strictly obliged to be most exact and critical in the observance of them.

After having thus done, they are fit, and in a readiness to go to the *geamea*, i. e. the public place of worship, whither they immediately hasten (after the clerk hath called from the top of the tower or steeple.) In none of their places of public devotion have they any pews or seats, but the *area* is a plain beaten floor, like the floor of a malt-house, spread all over with thin mats of rushes, excepting near the *emaum* or priest, where they lay carpets. Their galleries they have likewise spread with the same. But they have nothing of any fine ornaments in these their *geameas* or mosques, neither pictures, images, or any thing of that nature; but the walls are naked white, for they utterly abhor images, or any thing like them. They blame the papists for having so many trumperies in their churches, and have a greater respect for protestants, because they have not the like. I once had a draught of an English ship, which I hung against the wall; but my *patroon* perceiving it had a cross in its ancient, obliged me to blot it out, and then seemed well enough pleased with the picture.

When they come to the door of the *geamea*, they slip off their shoes, or rather slippers; for the upper leather, which is either red or yellow, scarce covers half the instep, without any quarters, except about half an inch high above the sole at the heel: these they clap one sole against the other, and so go in bare foot, and lay them down before them, kneeling down, and bring their backparts on their heels, as for a resting place.

Now, being all in readiness, the *emaem (emaum)* or priest*, in the front, upon equal ground with the congregation, and his back towards them, the *mezzins* or clerks are ready to observe his motions, being placed in a little gallery by themselves for that purpose. But before the *emaum* begins, they (i. e. the clerks) stand up, and speak out so loudly, that all the congregation may hear them, in a curious tune, *Allah waik barik (or ekbar) Allah waik barik; Ashaed la Allahe ill Allah, ashaed la Allah ill Allah; Ashaed Mohammed rasul Allah, ashaed Mohammed rasul Allah: alla Sallah, hy alla Sallah: Hy alla Fellah; alla Fellah; Watacum alla Sallah, watacum alla Sallah: Allah waik barik (*or *ekbar, &c.)* i. e. God is great; God is great; I testify (or declare) that there is no God besides God; I testify that there is no God besides God: I testify, that Mahomet is the messenger of God; I testify, that Mahomet is the messenger of God. Haste to prayers; haste to prayers; haste to a good work, haste to a good work. Now prayers are beginning; now prayers are beginning. God is great; there is no God besides God, &c. (Much the same words they use on the top of the steeple, when they call them to service, &c.) In the clerk's saying the last words, all the congregation bring their two thumbs together, and kiss them three times, and at every kiss they touch their forehead with their thumbs, and then

*There is no such thing as ordination of the *Emaum*, as I think, or ever heard; but the Dey appoints him.

rising up all on their legs, they stand exactly close by one another in rank, like a company of soldiers at close order.

They all imitate the *emaum* in the front, who, as soon as he is upon his legs, brings his two thumbs to touch the lower part of his ears; at which the clerk above, having his eyes always fixed upon the priest, cries out, *Allah waik barik;* at the hearing of which they all at once touch their ears, as the priest did, saying the same words privately to themselves; and then they (i. e. the *hanifees*, who are, as we may say, one of the four sorts of Mahometans) put their hands on their belly, one on the other, and the *emaum* says some short lesson in the *alcoran;* which being ended, he bows with his hands resting upon his knees; at which motion of the priest, the clerk cries again, *Allah waik barik*; and when the priest recovers himself upright, the same expression is used again: it signifies, great or blessed God!

Then the priest placeth his hands on his thighs, and gently goes down his knees; then stretcheth forth his hands on the ground, and with the same brings his forehead to touch the ground; at which ceremony the clerk repeats again, *Allah waik barik:* then the *emaum* recovers himself on his knees, with his hands on his thighs, and stretches his hands on the ground, &c. as before, and the clerk repeats the same expression, *Allah, &c.* All which postures and ceremonies the *emaum* performs a second time, and the clerk useth the same

The various Gestures of the Mahometans in their Prayers to God.

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words as at first; which being done, the *emaum* sits still (or rather sits and kneels at the same time, as I hinted before) about a minute, with his hands on his thighs, and fixing his eyes upon the ground, says a short prayer; at the end of which, he looks about over his right shoulder first, and then over his left, saying, *salem maelick* at each; i. e. welcome (viz.) my angels; or, peace be to you (for the Turks hold, that every one hath two angels to attend him, especially at the time of their service or worship) this is called two *erkaets*, or two *messes*. You must observe, that every one in the congregation doth use the very same gestures with the priest, and that all at once, in order; and the clerk's speaking loudly in the audience of them all, is a sufficient token when to bow or rise; and note, that they all stand with their faces one way, i. e. towards the *keblah*, or the temple at Mecca, in the midst of which is a place called *beat-allah*, or the house of God.

At the conclusion of their worship, and after all the *erkaets* are over, the *emaum* who officiates at the very upper end of the mosque, being kneeling in an oval place in the wall, and turning his face towards the congregation, (and so consequently his back is towards the *keblah*) who are all upon their knees, and imitate him, takes out his *Tesbea (Tesbih)* or beads, which are ninety-nine in number, and have a partition between every thirty-three; these they turn over, and for every one of the first thirty-three, they say, *Subhan Allah*, i. e. Admire God. For the second thirty-three, they

say, *El han do l'Allah*, i. e. Thanks be to God. And for the third thirty-three, *Allah waik barik.* All which being ended, the *emaum*, with the whole assembly, hold up their hands at a little distance from their faces, putting up their silent orisons; and to conclude all, smooth down their faces with their hands, take up their shoes, which lie before them, and so go their way.

This is the manner after which they behave themselves in their public worship, which lasts about a quarter of an hour.

And here I shall give you an account of the number of *erkaets* which they perform at every time of service. And,

First of all, for the *sobbob nomas*, or morning service; as soon as they come into the *geamea*, they perform two *erkaets* silently by themselves, and then wait till the time of service, (which is when it is day-light, before the candles are out in the *mosque*) and then they perform two more with the *emaum*. At this time of service the *emaum* speaks aloud, so that all the congregation may hear him.

The second time of their service is (as I said) about two of the clock in the afternoon, which they call *eulea nomas;* at which time they hoist up a white flag on a pole, on the top of the steeple (i. e. about an hour before service begins) to give notice to people that they be in a due preparation. At this time, when they enter into the *geamea*, they perform four *erkaets* by themselves, four with the *emaum*, and four afterwards apart by themselves.

The *emaum* now speaks so softly that he cannot be heard.

The third time of service, which they call *ekinde nomas*, is about four of the clock in the afternoon, and is performed exactly as the second was, excepting performing four *erkaets*, after the *emaum* has done, by themselves.

Acsham nomas, being the fourth time of service is a little after sun-set, which they perform with candle light. About a quarter of an hour before it begins, they have a short form of singing with the *emaum*, who reads a sentence, and then he and they sing. They always sing one thing, and one tune goes with it, viz. *allahum solle, wasalem alla Seyedena, wa moulauna Mohammed, wa alla Seyede Mohammed*, i. e. O our God, be favourable to, and let peace be upon our lord, (master) and teacher, Mahomet, and upon the family of our lord, (master) Mahomet. This singing is not *farz*, i. e. a matter strictly and universally enjoined as a duty by express command, but only *seunet*, [or *sunnah*] i. e. a voluntary devotion. At this fourth *nomas*, the *erkaets* which they perform, are three with the *emaum*, who now also speaks with an audible voice, and two afterwards by themselves.

The fifth and last time of their service is, viz. *gega*, or *el-ashcea nomas*, about an hour and half after the fourth, the lamps continuing burning in the *geamea* all that while; at their entering into which, they perform four *erkaets* by themselves, four with the *emaum*, who then speaks two with

an audible voice, and two softly, and five afterwards by themselves. *Note*, that those *erkaets* or prayers, which they perform before, and after the *emaum*, are called *seunet*, i. e. voluntary devotions; and those performed with the *emaum*, are styled *farz*, i. e. commanded. At the end of every two *erkaets*, they look over their right and left shoulder, as I told you before the *emaum* did, viz. to salute the angels. But before they turn their heads they say this prayer, viz. *Atte hyjatu, lillahe wasale watu watte ubatu.* Which is in the lesser chapters or prayers.

They seem to be very devout in the time of their worship, fixing their eyes on the ground just before them, not in the least gadding or wandering with them.

Friday is their *gemahgune*, or sabbath; but yet on that day there is but little difference in their devotion from that of other days, excepting, that the *hatteeb*, i. e. a priest, which is above the *emaum*, then officiates, and that at one of the clock, and for about the space of an hour; after which, he mounts a pair of stairs, (about six or seven) with a staff in his hand, and there makes a sort of a short sermon, about a quarter of an hour, or a little more, and then performs *sallah*, as the *emaum* doth at other times.

At this time of their worship, the gates of the city, (Algier,) are shut, and many shut their shop-windows during service; and some, that are more zealous, will not open their windows all the afternoon, but walk, and recreate themselves; but af-

ter the fourth time of service, (or *acksham nomas,)* or rather a little before, not only the gates of the town, but all the shop-windows are shut, and their buying and selling, and work, are all over for that day. And although the town is very populous, yet very few people are to be seen in the streets after candle-lighting, and the shops are seldom opened again till sun-rising. After the *gega nomas benlick bashes,* i. e. captains, walk the streets to see that no disorders are committed.

On their sabbath, the women flock out by thousands in the morning, to visit the sepulchres of their deceased relations, weeping over their graves, and petitioning to them; and when they have done, they will carefully weed, and cleanse them from soil and dirt.

Many people among them have their burying-places walled in, with a door to enter at, which places are very clean, and whitened with lime. The women also pay their visits to the Marabbots, (of whom I gave you some account before, chap. 2.) which have laid entombed, it may be, some hundreds of years before; and to them they petition also: and, indeed, this is most of the liberty the women have; nay, many of them cannot attain unto this: Though, as I observed before, they are equally obliged to perform *sallah* with the men. And as for their liberty in conversation, it is as little; for though some may pay their visits one to another, upon occasion, yet they never unveil themselves till the man of the house (if then present,) depart.

If there be two, three, or four families in one house, as many times there happen to be, yet they may live there many years, and never see one another's wife. But perhaps you will say, that it is odds but that the women may at some time or other, be accidentally seen by the men, coming in, or going out. But in answer to that you must know: that the men are seldom within doors in the day time, (especially those of the poorer sort, who often thus live many families under one roof;) and when they chance to come home to their houses, before they enter at the door, they usually speak aloud these words, viz. *Ammiltreak*, i. e. Make way! At the hearing of which, every woman scuds into her house from the court, (for every house hath a court, in the middle four square, and on every square there is a room; and above there are three galleries, or balconies, all round, from whence you may look down into the court.) The tops of their houses are all flat, beaten floors made with lime and sand. It is very seldom, that any men are to be seen on the tops of their houses; it is looked upon as very rude to be there: the reason of which is, because, as their houses are, generally speaking, of an equal height, it would be easy to go from the top of one to another, and so be able to look into the neighbouring courts, and by this means, see other men's wives. Though some men of note have low walls on the tops of their houses, to prevent any attempts of this nature.

As for the men, they never visit one another at

their houses; nay, it is not esteemed civil or decent for one married man to inquire for another at his house. Nay, what is more, it is thought a rude thing to ask of any person, Sir, where is your house? Or, Where do you live? I myself once spoke innocently to one when in Egypt, saying, Whereabouts is your house in Algier? And he took me up somewhat roughly, and said, Why do you ask that question? My shop is in such a place of the town.

The doors of their houses are always kept fast latched, for the men have no business at each other's houses; only the bakers' boys go about the street, making a loud noise, to take people's bread, and carry it to the bake-house. Upon this, the women within come, and knock at the inside of the door, which the boy hearing, makes towards the house. The women open the door a very little way, and hiding their faces, deliver the cakes to him. Which when baked, he brings to the door again, and the women receive them in the same manner, as they gave them out. If there be a negro-woman slave in the house, she goes to the door; but if they are poor people, the woman of the house must go herself.

The water-carriers also (who are for the most part Moors) go about with a large copper pot on their shoulders full of water, crying, *hab elma*, i. e. will you have any water? Those who want, knock within the door, as above. Way being made, the Moor goes in, empties his pot, receives his money, and away, without making any stay.

Many get their living only by this; though it is commonly thought some of these water-carriers are frequently employed by the women to procure gallants for them, especially when their husbands are out of town.

The manner of the Turks' complimenting, if equals, is putting the right hand on the left breast with a little bow, and kissing each other's cheek; though sometimes without kissing. If an inferior comes to pay his respects to a superior, he takes his superior's hand, and kisses it, afterwards putting it to his forehead. But if the superior be of a condescending temper, he will snatch away his hand as soon as the other hath touched it; then the inferior puts his own fingers to his lips, and afterwards to his forehead; and sometimes the superior will also in return put his hands to his lips. As for the Moors, if they are equals, they will hold fast each other's hand, striving to kiss it several times; and they will ask how each other do; but in all their compliments, they never ask one the other, how their wives and children do. They take care of that for a reason well enough known. They never take off their turbans, as we do our hats, in complacence to one another; neither do they stand bare in the greatest presence: Nay, they are never uncovered even in their mosques when they are at their worship, but wear their turbans while they are at prayers.

The women, (as I intimated before,) wear veils, so that a man's own wife may pass by him in the street, and he not have the least knowledge of her.

They will not stop to speak with men, or even their own husbands, in the street. They always go bare-footed within doors, except it be wet weather, and then they wear their thin slippers, which some have of silver, but in their chambers they always go bare-foot. They keep their houses very clean, and wash them so often and well, that they may go out of their chambers into the court bare-foot without dirting their feet: Their shoes they generally leave in the entry or passage.

The Algerines never take either apprentices, or hired servants, into their houses, because they are a people given so much to jealousy, (and truly they have reason enough for it on both sides,) that there would be but little love or content under their roof, if they should. And, therefore, such as have occasion for servants, do buy slaves, and bring them up to their household work, as our servant-maids are here in England; who, as soon as they have done up all their work in the house, are usually allowed the liberty to go abroad, and visit their countrymen, commonly bearing each a child with them; and if the child be a boy it rides on the slaves' shoulders.

Slaves in such places do always strive to get into the children's affections; which, if they can, fare much the better for their sakes. For oftentimes faults are connived at, and many blows forborn upon the child's account, lest it should grieve too much to see the dear slave punished.

The Turks are but seldom jealous of their slaves, though it is thought oftentimes they are made

cuckolds by them, and that by the solicitations of the patroonas, or mistresses themselves; for it would be dangerous presumption for the slave to dare to make the least item that way without encouragement from his mistress. My second patroon's wife, was, I am persuaded, very unfaithful to him: I have reason to think she was intimate with a neighbour in the town. Many a temptation did she lay in my way, though not by word of mouth, yet by signals; but I made myself ignorant of her meaning, and so, (I bless God,) escaped the snare.

I have heard of some who have suffered much like Joseph, for refusing to comply with the lascivious desires of their mistresses, who, like Potiphar's wife, have forged a quite contrary story to their husbands, which has occasioned the poor slave to be severely beaten, and afterwards to be sold.

They have many hammams, or wash-houses, to bathe themselves in; which they go into almost naked, only with a thin white wrapper on. There are several, whose business it is to give attendance, and they are very ready to do it, as soon as any person comes. When any go in, they leave their clothes in an outer room, put on a pair of clogs, or pattens, and so walk with their guides into the hot places; where after they have been for awhile, they grow into a great sweat, and having continued in it for some time, they have their arm-pits shaved by their guide, and then retire into a private room, where they have their pudenda

also shaved, accounting it very beastly to have it otherwise: after which, they lie down on the smooth pavement, and one of the guides or tenders, being ready with a glove made of coarse stuff, or camblet, without fingers, and stuft with something for that purpose, rubs their body all over, and cleanses it from filth: this they are very dexterous at, for as they are rubbing most parts of the body, they will bring the rolls of filth, (like a worm, it may be, two inches in length,) under the glove upon the person's arm, that he may see what need he stood in of cleansing. And I profess, I have often wondered to see so much filth come off from a single person, considering how frequently they use thus to bathe, or wash.

Having washed all over, and at last with soap, the tender for awhile leaves every person to himself, to throw water on his body; and this they may have from two cocks, one hot, the other cold, which run into an earthen pan, or else a great bason of marble; so that they may make the water of what temper of heat, or cold, they please: having thus done, and taken *abdes*, the tender waits with wrappers, one for the upper, and the other for the lower parts of the body; which having put on, the bathed person comes out into a cooler room, and there lies down awhile till his sweating is well over, and then puts on his clothes again; and at his going out, the tender sprinkles rose-water on his face. And all these refreshing ac-

commodations may be had for three or four pence.

The time of the men's coming in, is till one o'clock in the afternoon; and then the women take their turn of bathing, till it be candle-lighting.

I mention these *hammams* in this place, because they are not only designed for recreation, and keeping the body clean, but chiefly upon a religious account; because upon some occasions they cannot perform *sallah* without thus washing the whole body. As for instance, if they have lain with a whore, or be it with their own wives, or if their nature has gone from them in a dream; then the first thing they do, is going to one of these *hammams*, where they wash their body all over, so then take *abdes*, and are fit for *sallah*.

And I really believe, that few, or none of them would venture to perform *sallah*, being in any of the fore-mentioned circumstances, without washing their whole body, might they gain never so much. Wherever they are, be it at sea, or in the camp, yea, let the weather be never so cold, they cannot be easy till they have washed. Nay, the most negligent among them, and such as scarce perform *sallah* throughout the whole year, will be sure, if in any such circumstances, to wash themselves, take *abdes*, and then perform a few *erkaets*.

Now the great and fundamental article of the Mahometan faith, which chiefly makes them mussulmans, or believers, consists in these words, *La Allah Illallah Mohammed Resul Allah*, i. e. there

is but one God, and Mahomet his prophet, or the messenger of God: or thus, there is no God, (i. e. true God,) but God, and Mahomet is the messenger of God.

For the saying of these words, be it but once in a man's whole life, all his debaucheries and sins (they say,) shall be forgiven, and he shall assuredly get to heaven, though for some time he may lie in hell till his sins are burnt away:* i. e. supposing he be a mussulman; for Mahomet will make intercession for him, and obtain his release. But for a Christian they have no charity; for they say, that let him live never so well all his days, yet all is in vain; for without believing in Mahomet, there can be no salvation.

I remember a story that was told me, not foreign to the matter in hand, and I believe it was true.

A Turk and a Greek were in company together, and the Greek had with him his sister, who was a very beautiful woman. The Turk, among other talk, said, That is a pretty woman; why dost thou not lie with her? She is my sister, replied the Greek. What then, quoth the Turk, thou wilt

* This is very much like the Romish purgatory, which, (among the Papists,) is an invention to get money by. It is a plain cheat, to any observing man; and, for aught I know, a doctrine of the most damnable consequences of any in their whole religion: and we may challenge the consistory of cardinals to produce one place in Scripture, which in the sense of any rational man, can be supposed to prove it. I do not find the Turks make the use the Papists do of it.

never go to hell the sooner, for to hell thou wilt go whether thou liest with her or no.

The Mahometans hold the doctrine of the blessed Trinity to be the greatest blasphemy imaginable: for most profanely say they, Was God ever married to beget a son? They will not hear of the Son of God with any patience. It is true, they own Christ to be a great prophet, and born of the Virgin Mary; so they have it in their alcoran very often hinted, *Eusa Ebn Mariam*, i. e. Jesus the son of Mary; and they do also acknowledge him to be one of the greatest prophets that ever has been on earth: but they never own him to be the Son of God, (as some have related,) or acknowledge his doctrine as the last will and word of God, and his apostles as ministers of it; for all these things they utterly deny, though some have asserted, that they believe the Old and the New Testament, the law and the gospel: but I say, How can it be? As for the law, they do indeed pick some things out of it, but yet not in any due order, or as it is there set down.

For circumcision they observe not on the eighth day, as the Jews, but when they please; sometimes when the child is two, three, four, or five years old. So do they vary from the old law about payment of tithes, sacrifices, &c. They do, (or, however should,) pay the fortieth part to the priests, and when they kill sheep in a way of sacrifice, they distribute them to the poor.

And as for the gospel, it is what I cannot but admire at, that any writers, especially learned

men, should affirm they believe it; since they do expressly deny Christ to be the Saviour of the world: and therefore, they who assert THAT MAHOMET BELIEVED ALL THE ARTICLES OF THE CHRISTIAN FAITH, must needs be in the wrong. They will hardly bear to hear of those miracles which were done by our Lord and his apostles. It is true they have some acquaintance with the historical parts of scripture, especially the Old Testament, and can give an account of all the prophets from Adam to Christ; but then they will have it that they were all of them mussulmans. They will tell you that they (viz. their forefathers) believed in all the prophets, and obeyed the messages which they brought, and they also believed in Christ. So should we (say they) to this day, had he been *el we daw pe gam her*, i. e. the last of the prophets, as they style Mahomet. I have often heard them argue thus, while our king is living we yield ourselves subjective to his laws: but when after his decease, another succeeds him, it is highly reasonable we should obey any new laws made by him. So was the practice of all mussulmans in the time of the prophets.

Now besides the great and fundamemtal article of the Mahometan faith, but now mentioned, there are six things, which they are all bound to believe; the disbelieving of one which will exclude a person from being a true Mussulman.

The first of these six things is, viz.

I.

Amam to billahe, i. e.
To believe in God.

II.

Wa Malaikatche, i. e.
And his Angels.

III.

Wa Chetubehe, i. e.
And in his Written Word.

IV.

Wa Reseulehe, i. e.
And in his Prophets.

V.

Wayom ilahere, i. e.
And the Last Day.

VI.

Wa bilcoder hirehe wa-sherrehe min allahe taallah, i. e.

And that all things that happen, whether good or evil, are disposed by the Providence of God; or in the decrees of good and evil by the most high God.

These several points the Turks do assent to, which is more than most men (as I am apt to think) do imagine the Mahometans know, or give any credit to.

But besides the one great fundamental article of their faith, and these six *credenda*, there are several practical duties enjoined them, and which many of them do indifferently well observe. As,

I.

Shahedet cala mace gettermeck, i. e.

Often to repeat the following words in which (as I told you) is contained the prime, and fundamental article of their faith, viz. *La allah illallah ashaed Mohammed resul allah.*

II.

Seunet etmeck, i. e.

To observe Circumcision.

III.

Wa obtas (abdes) olmok, i. e.

To wash before *Sallah.*

IV.

Wa Nomas Culmok ; i. e.

Duly to perform *Sallah*, or Prayers.

V.

Wa zekaet wearmok, i. e.

And to give such a part (if I mistake not, the fortieth) of their gettings to the poor: but this command but few perform aright.

VI.

Wa Caeba warmok, i. e.

And to go on Pilgrimage to Mecca, (*scil.*) if health, and ability permit.

VII.

Wa Orouch dootmok, i. e.
And to keep the fast *Ramadan*.

All which injunctions some among them do strictly, and conscientiously observe; which, with their abstaining from certain things which they account sins, viz. smoking tobacco, eating swine's flesh, drinking of wine, &c. makes them to be looked on very much: and yet (which is strange) there is no punishment for those that do what is forbidden by the Mahometan law, or neglect what is commanded. For (as I observed before) there is scarce any sin punished among them, except murder, and theft. As for drinking of wine, it is flatly forbidden, yet but few of them, in their youth, refrain from it, nay the excess of it. But, indeed, when they begin to grow old, they usually fall in love with money, which bars other extravagancies.

However, though wine be altogether as strictly forbidden as swine's flesh, yet those who drink it, do seem to loathe and abhor the thoughts of pork. And yet on the other hand, I have heard many say, that it is more lawful to eat pig, than to drink wine; and they give this good reason for it, that the former doth satisfy hunger, and nourish the body; but the latter doth intoxicate so as to breed

quarrelling, and oftentimes the consequence of that is murder.

But to return to the points of practical duty, the two last of which only I shall insist on, and begin with the seventh, viz. the *Fast of Ramadan;* because the other, viz. going on pilgrimage to Mecca, I shall reserve to a distinct chapter.

As Christians date by the month, so the Turks date by the moon; so that this month of *Ramadan*, or month of fast, doth every year fall back ten, or eleven days; and in the space of thirty-six years, or thereabouts, goes round the whole year. And here the reader may be pleased to note, that they are altogether ignorant of astronomy, and hold it to be a great piece of arrogance, and indeed profane, for any to dive into those things which belong to that science. And they moreover say, that no man in the world knows when the new moon is, but God alone knows. That none but Christians will presume to inquire into such hidden and abstruse matters. Nay, they think it blasphemy to say it will be new moon at such an hour or minute. And, therefore, when by reason of hazy weather, they are at a loss whether there be a new moon, or no, because it is not visible, all hands will be looking out to spy it first, if possible. While they are thus employed, and are in doubt about it, sometimes one, or more will come from the hills near the town, and testify that they have seen the new moon; which is immediately taken for truth, and the fast thereupon begins. Many will not believe there is a new moon till

they see it. So that they begin their fast the next day after the moon appears, and fast till they see the next moon: unless it so happen that the weather hinder the sight of the moon, and then they complete thirty days fast, after they have seen the *Ramadan* moon.

As soon as they see the new moon in sea-port towns, they fire a cannon to give notice when they are to begin the fast; upon which signal they will immediately make provision for the night, and rise every morning, about two, or three o'clock, (which I reckon the night) to eat, and drink, and then continue without meat or drink, smoking, or chewing tobacco, or taking snuff, (which three things are much in use amongst them,) till it be half an hour after sun-set. Nay, there are some so scrupulous, that they question whether it be lawful for them to go into the room where there is a grist-mill, for fear any flour should get into their throats, and through their nostrils. Others have been afraid to wash their bodies, lest water should soak into their belly through the navel. By all which you may see, how extraordinarily strict they are in their way.

During *Ramadan*, there is no difference at all in their devotion from that at other times, excepting that in the last time of service, at night, there are a multitude of lamps lighted up in their mosques, and they perform abundance of *erkaets*, the priest saying a great many short prayers with an audible voice, but as fast as he can speak, so that they are no sooner down upon their knees, but they are

up again. Although they carefully keep themselves from wine this month, yet there is a toleration for them to walk the streets after night, at which times much uncleanness is commited: for though the whores as well as other women, at other times use to veil themselves in the streets, yet in the nights of this month they will walk with men in men's apparel, with their hair down about them, in a most shameful manner. But though the Turks are so very strict, as I hinted, in the observation of this their fast; yet if any one be sick, or on a journey, and finds himself faint for want of inward refreshment, he may lawfully eat, or drink; but then he must be sure to fast for it afterwards: however, if he can deny himself altogether, it is more commendable.

I have seen many in the country, to work all day very hard, in the most fervent harvest-time, who, though they have been ready to fall down for very parching thirst, would by no means drink a little water till the time came when they are used to breakfast. And the reason they give is, because they are not sure of living so long as to make it up again in fasting. Nay, they are yet more strict, if *Ramadan* happens to be during their pilgrimage to Mecca; for if any do then break their fast unseasonably, they must sacrifice a sheep for such a default.

When we were sailing on the Red Sea towards Mecca, my *patroon* (who was an ancient, and corpulent man) being very faint with thirst, broke his

fast voluntarily; but when we arrived at Mecca, he was not easy till he had fasted so many days for it, and sacrificed a sheep into the bargain.

But if it happen so, that any do eat and drink accidentally, and unwittingly, not thinking of the fast, it is accounted as nothing, neither is the fast marred thereby, provided they forbear eating as soon as ever they think upon it. Nay, they account such a thing to be a great favour of God, and call it God's treat.

I remember when I was at Mecca, in the month of *Ramadan*, it happened one day to rain much, when my patroon's water carrier, who daily supplied us with the holy water of *Beer-elzemzem*, brought some of the rainy water which fell from the *beatallah* to my patroon, as a valuable present, for which he was well rewarded. This water being before me, I drank of it, not minding the fast till it was down, when I reflected with myself that I had broken my fast, and therefore fell to eating too. I told one, who dwelt in the same house with us, of this my mistake, viz. in drinking unadvisedly of the said water. He then asked me, whether I had wittingly eaten since? I told him, yes. *Yozzik der!* replied he; i. e. it is pity! *ne deulet bashingah coenmish;* i. e. what dignity was put on your head! And withal, said he, God was about to treat you in a more than ordinary way, even with heavenly water, which came off from his own house, neither would it have marred your fast; but now, through your ignorance, you have miss-

ed of so great an advantage: wishing, at the same time, that God would so deal with him.

It was in this month of *Ramadan*, they say, that the angel Gabriel dictated to Mahomet the alcoran, (that is, the chapter of it, which he first published) in the cave which is by the town of Mecca, on the top of a little hill. While I was at Mecca, I went thither; and though it was merely to satisfy my curiosity, yet it was thought very commendable in me: but I could find nothing remarkable in this so famous cave. From the hill you have a good prospect of the town, and of the *kabea*, [*caba*] or temple of Mecca; of which, and their pilgrimage thither, I shall give you a faithful account in the following chapter.

CHAP. VII.

Containing an account of the Mahometans' pilgrimage to Mecca: the manner of their devotion there. Of some of the most considerable places between Mecca and Algier; as Alexandria, Grand Cairo, &c.

GOING on pilgrimage to Mecca, is (as I informed you before) a duty incumbent on every mussulman, if in a capacity of health and purse: but yet, a great many who are so, live in the final neglect of it.

There are four caravans which come to Mecca every year, with great numbers of people in each.

There is first, the *Moggarib* caravan, which comes from the west, from the emperor of Fez and Morocco's country, (from which parts they all go by land,) and toucheth at Egypt, where they take in what provision will serve to Mecca, and back again to Egypt. The *emmir hagge*, or chief leader of the caravan, makes a stop at every town he passeth through, that so all such persons as are desirous to go to Mecca that year, may, if they please, go in company with him.

This *emmir hagge*, in whatsoever town he comes, is received with a great deal of joy, because he is going about so religious a work; and it is, who can have the favour, and honour of kissing his hand, or but his garment! He goes attended in much pomp, with flags, kettle-drums, &c. and loud acclamations do as it were, rend the skies; nay, the very women get upon the tops of the houses to view the parade, or fine show, where they keep striking their four fingers on their lips softly, as fast as they can, making a joyful noise all the while, which sounds somewhat like *yow*, *yow*, *yow*, hundreds of times.

The second caravan goes from *Misseer*, or [*Messe*] i. e. Grand Cairo in Egypt; which is joined by great multitudes, because it is better armed, and so they go with more safety under its protection. And it is also more pleasant, because they go every one in order, and each knows his place; so that there arise no quarrels or disputes at all on the road about precedency.

With this caravan is sent the covering of the

beat allah, or house of God; of which I shall give a description by and by.

The third caravan is called *sham carawan*, which brings those that come from Tartary, and parts thereabouts, and also from all Turkey, Natolia, and the land of Canaan, without touching at Egypt.

The fourth is called *hind carawan*, which comes from the East Indies, and brings many rich and choice goods, which are sold to all sorts of persons who resort to Mecca.

These four caravans jump all into Mecca together, there being not above three or four days difference in their arrival, which usually is about six or seven days before the *curbean byram*, i. e. the feast of sacrifice.

But it may be asked, perhaps, by some who know, or at least have heard, or read of the town of Mecca, how such great numbers of people can possibly have lodging and entertainment for themselves and beasts, in such a little ragged town as Mecca is.*

* I had the curiosity to look into the great and worthy Mr. Collier's dictionary, to see what was there said of Mecca, and Medina; and I find his author very much out in both: and yet Davity, he saith, was a late writer: for Davity describes Mecca to be a very large place, and that the constant inhabitants make up about six thousand families; whereas, it indeed is nothing near so populous, for I believe I may safely say, there are not one thousand families in it: and the buildings are very mean and ordinary. I am sure, while I was in the town, and when I took a view of it from a neighbouring hill, I could see nothing

I answer, as for house-room, the inhabitants do straighten themselves very much, in order, at this time, to make their market. And indeed, they make the *hagges*, or pilgrims, pay for their house-room during their stay there, (which is generally only about sixteen or seventeen days,) more than the rent of a whole year amounts to. And as for such as come last, after the town is filled, they pitch their tents without the town, and there abide till they remove towards home. As for provision, they all bring sufficient with them, except it be of flesh, which they may have at Mecca; but as for all other provisions, as butter, honey, oil, olives, rice, biscuit, &c. they bring with them as much as will last through the wilderness, forward and backward, as well as the time they stay at Mecca; and so for their camels, they bring store of provender,

of beauty in it. I am not fond of contradicting authors, especially such as are thought to be great men; but I speak from knowledge, they only by hearsay. And as for Medina, Davity saith it is but four, I say about ten days journey from Mecca. He saith likewise, that the pillars of the mosque of Medina, are charged with 3000 silver lamps, whereas in truth there are but few lamps, and almost all of glass. He saith, moreover, that Mahomet's tomb is richly adorned with plates of silver, and covered with cloth of gold; which is not so, but I suppose he mistakes this covering for that of the *beat allah*, of which I have given an account. There are no lamps lighted about Mahomet's tomb by day: nor are all Turks absolutely bound to visit the tomb at Medina. For those who belong to the caravan which comes from the East Indies, &c. go directly home from Mecca; because if they were to make a visit at Medina, it would necessarily hinder them twenty days, or more.

&c. with them; for they meet with very little, if any, refreshment on the road.

When a ship is going for Alexandria, it is cried about the town of Algier, where I lived, that she will sail such a day; and then every one that designs for Mecca that year, joyfully embraces the opportunity of going so far by sea, because they thereby save both a great deal of trouble and cost, which they must be at, if they were forced to go by land.

You must observe, that no Turks who are in pay, dare to undertake this pilgrimage without leave from the dey; and if they exceed a year in it, how much soever it may be, when they return to Algier, they must be contented with one year's pay, and lose all the rest.

That year I went from Algier to Mecca, we arrived at Alexandria in between thirty and forty days; which is reckoned to be a very good passage.

In our voyage we espied a small vessel one morning, which we chased till almost night. We hung out French colours, and the chased vessel did the like; but still shunned us, which made us continue our chase. When we came up with her, we found the men to be all Turks and Moors in a French vessel, who were brought from Malta, and were designed to be carried to Leghorn, and sold there. They told us, that that very morning they were at an anchor at a certain place, and most of the French crew went ashore in their boat, leaving

only two men and a boy on board; upon which the slaves rose, and killed the two Frenchmen, and so became masters of the ship: that therefore upon our hanging out French colours, they were in a great consternation at the first, but when they knew we were Turks, they as much rejoiced as before they feared. Some of them, men, women, and children, came on board of us, and would by no means be persuaded to return to the French vessel again. They steered directly for Tunis, where, we heard, they safely arrived.

At Alexandria we tarried about twenty days. Historians, undoubtedly have given a far more satisfactory account of this place than I can pretend to; however, I hope my observations may be accepted.

No doubt this was a very famous city in former times, and celebrated for its greatness and neatness; for the very ruins thereof leave an image of magnificence upon a man's mind. In my walks about it, I saw many curious pieces of arch-work under ground. It is accommodated with a small branch or cut of Nilus, which fills their wells: and to these wells New Alexandria, which is about a quarter of a mile distant from the old, and all the ships that resort thither, are beholden for fresh water. The mouths of these wells are entire stones of marble.

I think all the walls of this city are yet standing, with firm iron gates; unless some part of the upper work be fallen.

There are two churches in Old Alexandria, one

of which is called by the name of *bingbeer drake*, i. e. a thousand and one pillars; for so many, they say, it hath. When I went into it, there was with me a Spanish *renegado*, who belonged to another patroon, and a Turk of our company. This last shewed us a pillar of stone, unpolished, which looked not much unlike the stump of a dead tree, with knots on it. This, he told us, was a fig-tree which Christ cursed when he found it fruitless, saying, *let no fruit grow on thee henceforward for ever*. Here, added he, you will be tried whether you are right mussulmans, or no. You must stand about eight or ten paces from this tree, and being hood-winked, must go towards it; if you go directly to it, you are right; but if you miss, you are not true mussulmans. He tied his own handkerchief about our eyes; the Spaniard went first, and missed; I then tried what I could do with my arms spread, and happening to touch the pillar, was pronounced the better mussulman of the two.

There are several pillars in the ruins of Old Alexandria, of a vast bigness and height; one, especially, I did much admire, for it is as big about as three or four men can fathom, and higher than I could throw a stone; it shines like glass, and the colour of it is much like Porphyrian marble; it looks as if it were one entire piece, with some curious stone-work on the top of it; but I am persuaded it is artificially made, and consists of several parts, though so well done, that the joinings are not discernible; for I cannot see how it

would otherwise be possible to mount it, and place it in its present position. The country being very low, it serves for a sea-mark; for as it is erected on a little rising ground, it is visible, as well as some palm-trees, a considerable time before the land. It is called Pompey's pillar.

This city of Alexandria is situated about two bow-shots from the sea-side; and the New Alexandria joins to the sea.

Here is not such a plenty at all times to be had, as further up in the country; and the reason is, because abundance of ships, of all nations, do continually resort hither, and take off such supplies as they want.

Having tarried at Alexandria about twenty days, we embarked for a place called *Roseet* or Rosetta, which is about two leagues, as I guess, up in the river Nilus, which river they also call, *Bahor el Nile*, i. e. the sea of Nilus.

I think we sailed from Alexandria about five or six leagues eastward of it, before we came to the open mouth of the famous river Nile, where it emptieth itself into the Mediterranean Sea, with its muddy colour, threatening as if it would change the whole sea into its own colour and sweetness. I drank of its water a considerable way off at sea, and found that it was no way salt, to my great satisfaction, and according to what I had heard of it.

I have been credibly informed, that the Leghornese and Venetians oftentimes take in fresh water off the mouth of the Nile; and they may do it, in-

deed, without the least danger, the Turks having no ships to defend this coast.

This river is not only famous, among other things, for depth, but also for breadth. I cannot give an exact account of the breadth of it, but I well remember, that being on one side, I could scarce distinguish a man's from a woman's habit on the other. As for its depth, you may guess it is very considerable, because there are many of the Turk's merchantmen, navigated by Greeks, which are called by the name of *shykes*, somewhat like our English ketches, of two or three hundred ton, which come up to *Roseet*, and from thence it is navigable up to *Boelock*, or *Boulack*, by great boats or barges deeply laden, and how much further up I know not.

Roseet is the place where all the boats unload which come from Cairo and Alexandria; for the boats which come from Cairo, are not fit to sail down for Alexandria; neither are the Alexandrian big boats fit to sail up to Cairo, for want of sufficient depth of water.

The mouth of Nilus is oftentimes very dangerous, and vessels are cast away there, by reason of its being choked up with sands; and many times, vessels are forced to wait ten or twelve days for a clear mouth. Whether this bar may not be owing to an out hard wind, which checks the river, and stops the sand which it brings down with it at its mouth, and when the wind is off the shore, the freshet drives it away again, I shall leave to persons of better judgment to determine.

I very well remember, we were forced to wait several days for a clear mouth; in the mean time, an ancient man of our company fell sick, and died, and the next day, if I mistake not, we had a free passage. The Turks made this observation upon it, viz. that it was the place where God had determined he should be buried, for which reason, we were obliged to wait so many days.

This river is well known, and famous in most parts of the world.

It hath another great mouth, where it empties itself also, some leagues eastward of the former, which is called by the natives *Dimyot*. Some have written of several more mouths, but if there be any such, they must be small streams, which I never observed, or heard of from the natives: I am sure of this, viz. that these two I have mentioned, are the great ones, and navigable.

I was not in Egypt, but at Mecca, at the time of the Nile's overflowing; but they say, it comes gradually and gently, not at all damnifying the inhabitants, who receive it with a great deal of joy; it remains about forty days on the land, and when it is gone off, they make very great feasting and rejoicing; and good reason for it, for they have a great dependance on the overflowing of this river; nay, were it not for it, Egypt would be a very barren country, even as the wilderness, which is not above half a day's journey from Grand Cairo, because they have little or no rain. After Nilus hath left the land, then is their time of tilling and sowing. When their seed is in the

ground, they are not much solicitous whether it rain or not, hardly reckoning themselves obliged to the showers of heaven.

Many will not believe that it ever rains in Egypt, because most historians say the contrary; but I will be bold to affirm what I saw myself: while I was at Cairo, it rained to that degree, that having no kennels in the streets to carry off the water, it was ancle-deep, and in some places, half way the leg. My patroon had, at that time, two bales of linen cloth on board a bark at Boelock, which were so damaged by the rain, that we were forced to open them, and dry the cloth piece by piece.

They have a particular mark when the flood is at its height; and they say, that if it rise a finger's breadth above it, it is a sign of plenty; but if it come so much short of it, it is a sign of scarcity.

This river affords plenty of fish and fowl, as wild-ducks, geese, &c.

I was credibly informed of a pretty way they have there to take wild-ducks, viz. some one that can swim, and dive very well, takes the head of a dead duck, and swims with it in his hand, and when he comes pretty near the ducks, he dives, holding the duck's head just above the surface of the water, till he comes to the ducks, and then takes hold of them by the legs, and so catches them.

I have seen and handled a bird taken on this river, about the bigness of a heron, which hath under his throat a bag of skin, with the mouth of it towards the beak.

This bird they call *sacca cush*, i. e. bird water carrier, and, like dotterels, they say, that when Abraham built the temple at Mecca, these birds supplied him with water.

I remember, that when we were sailing up the river Nilus towards Cairo, one of our company shot one of these water-carriers, thinking it to be a wild goose; but when it was known what it was, it was much lamented, even with tears, that such a creature should be so killed.

As for crocodiles here, I saw none.

The river Nile is not clear of robbers, who rob in boats. They are most bold at that time of the year in which the *hugges* are a going from Rosetta to Grand Cairo, knowing they must carry sums of money with them. We were afraid, once, they were coming to attack us; but having arms, we fired upon them, and they soon made off.

There are towns all along its banks, insomuch, that you are no sooner out of the sight of one, but you are in sight of two or three more.

They say it is above 250 miles up from Rosetta to the country where the famous city of Cairo stands; and in all this way scarce an hill as big as an house to be seen.

About four or five miles on this side Cairo, this river parts, and betakes itself into two streams; the one runs to Rosetta, the other to Dimyott.

The inhabitants of Egypt are a mixture of Moors, Turks, Jews, Greeks, and Copties; which

last I understand, to be the race of the ancient Egyptians.

The chief commodities in this country are, rice, flax, most sorts of grain, sugar, linen, and hides in abundance, especially of buffalos'; balsams, &c.

As for their fruits, they have but little, if any, tree-fruits, as apples, pears, cherries, &c. but abundance of other sorts, such as melons, water-melons, cucumbers, &c.

Here is also great plenty of East India commodities, as silks, muslins, calicos, spices, coffee, &c.

And also of milk, butter, cheese, oil, olives, &c.

The habits of the Moors and Egyptians, or Copties [Coptics] differ only in their turbans; the Moors' turbans being all white, and the Copties white striped with blue.

They speak all one language, and generally wear a long, black loose frock, sown together all down before.

The Jews wear a frock of the same fashion, but of broad cloth; but their caps are of an odd figure, being somewhat like the poll of a man's hat-case, covered with broad cloth.

And as for the Jewish women, they wear a long sort of head-dress, which is like one of our women's high-crowned hats, but not quite so taper at the top, yet of a greater length, jutting out behind at the poll; in which they look very awkward indeed.

The Greeks differ but little from the Turks in

their habit, except it be in their turbans and caps; but they dare not wear any thing of a green colour, though it be ever so small; if they did, they would be in danger of having their clothes torn off their backs, at least, that part which is green; and it is well if they escape the bastinadoes. And though all mussulmans, whether Turks or Moors, have liberty to wear green; yet none will presume to wear a turban of that colour, unless they belong to the race of Mahomet, who are always most respected.

There is in no part of the world, I am apt to think, greater encouragement given to whoredom, than in Egypt. It is impossible for me to give you a full account of their licentiousness of this kind, and which is tolerated too; but yet I cannot forbear speaking something of it, hoping it may be a motive to cause my countrymen to make a good use of it, and to bless God, that we have such punishment, by the laws, to be inflicted, in order to the suppression of this soul-destroying sin.

In Egypt then, they have distinct streets and places, which are all full of lewd houses; into any of which, none of repute will enter, but upon absolutely necessary occasions.

The whores use to sit at the door, or walk in the streets unveiled.

They are commonly very rich in their clothes, some having their shifts and drawers of silk, with silk coats like men's (as for petticoats, they never wear any in this country,) and a silk sash about

their middle, (as indeed all others in these parts have, men, women, and children,) with a knife tucked in at their girdle, the sheath of which is commonly silver.

These courtezans, or ladies of pleasure, as well as other women, have broad velvet caps on their heads, beautified with abundance of pearls, and other costly and gaudy ornaments; and they wear their hair in tresses behind, reaching down to their very heels, with little bells, or some such things, at the end, which swing against their heels, and make a tinkling sound as they go.

They also wear nose-jewels; and therefore it is not altogether improbable that these, or some like them, were the vanities of bewitching apparel, which the prophet exclaims against, Isa. iii. 16.

These madams go along the streets smoking their pipes of four or five feet long; and when they sit at their doors, a man can scarce pass by but they will endeavour to decoy him in.

I have often wondered, how these creatures can maintain themselves at the rate they do, seeing, I am told, that for three or four *parrahs*, i. e. pence, any man may gratify his lust upon them.

But they are so cunning, that they will not encourage any to stay longer with them than in the fact, and payment for it; because they will be ready for a fresh gallant.

And now to speak something more of Grand Cairo, a place eminent in history.

In this place they have wells in most of their mosques, into which water is by an aqueduct con-

veyed at the time of the overflowing of Nilus; and there are men appointed, who stand at the windows of several of their churches, to give cups of water to all such as pass by.

If I mistake not, it is reported, that in this city, there are five or six thousand public and private mosques.*

Among which, some are very large and stately, with curiously wrought fronts and gates, as likewise high round *minarets*, or steeples; and some of the said *minarets* have several balconies round them, some two, some three; which balconies, and also the streets, during the time of *Ramadan*, are illuminated with abundance of lamps, glorious to behold.

Many miles before we come to Cairo, the two pyramids, which are six or seven miles beyond it, discover themselves; they are of a prodigious height, and in the form of a sugar-loaf.

There is a town joining to the river Nile, about a mile and a half before we come to Cairo, called Bolock, where resort many hundreds of barks, laden with corn, &c.

Here we hired asses, or camels, to carry our things to Cairo; where, notwithstanding the re-

* Not six thousand public mosques, and twenty thousand particular ones, as I find in the worthy Mr. Collier's great dictionary from his author: I am positive it cannot be near the number; nor three and twenty thousand, as Mons. De Thevenot hath it, part. i. p. 129, though I honour that author, for he is as exact in the Turkish history as any that ever I yet saw: I speak of what I know, and have seen.

sort of strangers and merchants, and all the fame that this city hath in history, all the entertainment for strangers, is a naked room or chamber, without the least furniture; and yet, though the accommodations are so mean, every stranger, whether pilgrim or merchant, when he takes a room, is obliged to pay fifty *parrahs* for entrance, and one *parrah* a week afterwards, stay as long as he will.

In this city are said to be spoken no less than seventy two languages.

As for the buildings here, they are but very ordinary, and for the most part low, except some *hawns*, i. e. public houses of entertainment, which are three stories high. These are built after the same figure with their other houses, viz. four square, with a court in the middle; and some of them are so large, that they have three or four score rooms in them.

There are several hundreds of these *hawns* in this city, which have in the midst of their several courts little mosques built, for those who live or lodge there to perform *acsham*, or *gega nomas*, or evening and night prayers in, because it is dangerous walking the streets after candle lighting: when this is done the gate of the *hawn* is shut. Now, considering these, and the great houses with large courts, that every man of note hath, you must needs think it to be a very fair and magnificent city, to take a distant prospect of; but yet the streets are very narrow, which (it being exceeding populous) is an inconvenience; for people fre-

quently are very much thronged as they pass the streets, and sometimes lose their slippers off their feet.

The people here usually ride on asses, if they go but a mile or two in the city (and call for an ass, as they do for a coach in London;) and the women ride astride as men do. These asses pace as fast as any horse; and for one *parrah* or penny you may ride a mile: the owner of the ass drives it; and the drivers as they go, are bound to call out to persons on the way, lest any hurt be done by sudden meeting or turning; so that all day long is heard a great noise caused by the ass drivers, who are continually crying, either *wuggick*, or *thorick*, or *skemalick*, or *yeamejenick*, i. e. have a care of your face, or back, or left side, or right side.

Twice a day they generelly water their streets, because of the excessive heat. And there are many that get a livelihood by carrying of water in goat skins, with two or three brass cups, in which they offer water to drink to those that pass by; for which some give them to the value of half a farthing.

As for the plenty which abounds here, it is wonderful; you may have twenty, nay, five and twenty eggs for one *parrah*.

And you may also have fourteen or sixteen little cakes of bread (each of which is very near as big as an halfpenny loaf with us,) for one *parrah;* and all other things are proportionably cheap.

The water which they have in this city is very brackish, and therefore most of what they make use of, is brought on camels from the river Nile; and many hundreds get their living by bringing it. This water hath such a quality in it, that it usually purges strangers at first.

Here is great scarcity of wood; so that they heat their ovens commonly with horse or cow-dung, or dirt of the streets. What wood they have, is brought from parts adjoining to the Black Sea; and is sold by weight, as sea-coal is with us by measure.

There are daily brought into this city large herds of goats; and if any are minded to buy of their milk, they milk it for them before their faces, that they may be satisfied it is good and new. Indeed, most of common necessaries are brought about to their doors to be sold, except it be flesh.

They have a very pretty way of hatching chickens hereabouts. (It is possible some may think what I am going to tell, a fable, but I declare I have seen it, and aver it to be true,) viz. they have a place under ground (not unlike an oven) the bottom of which is spread all over with straw, on which they lay some thousands of eggs, close one by the other; which, without the warmth of the hens, or any other prolific heat, but that of the sun, dung, and such ignite particles as the earth may afford, are brought to life. When the chickens are thus hatched, they sell them to poor people by the measure; and when they are full grown up, and fat, the value of them is no more

than two or three *parrahs* apiece. When I was sailing up the Nile, I had the curiosity sometimes to go ashore, and walk when the wind was contrary; for at such times they hauled the vessel along with a rope: when I was once walking on the bank, I was shewn a place where chickens were thus hatched.

In this city there is a particular place where a market is held twice a week for the selling of Christian slaves, which are brought by merchants from Turkey, and were taken mostly by the Tartars; they are for the most part only women and children, for the men slaves are generally kept in Turkey for the service of the gallies.

These slaves brought here to be sold are most of them Muscovites and Russians, and from those parts; and some of the emperor of Germany's country. They are curiously decked, and set out with fine clothes, when they are exposed to sale, that they may carry the better price. The boys, whose heads are shaved, when they stand in the market, have a lock of hair, one part under their caps, the other hanging down their cheeks, to signify they are newly taken, and are yet Christians.

And although the women and maidens are veiled, yet the chapmen have liberty to view their faces, and to put their fingers into their mouths to feel their teeth; and also, to feel their breasts; nay, further, as I have been informed, they are sometimes permitted by the sellers (in a modest way) to be searched, whether they are virgins or on.

It hath been affirmed by some, that the slaves which are sold in this country are never compelled to turn to the Mahometan religion.

In Algier, I confess, it is not common, (though I myself suffered enough from them, God knows,) but in Egypt and Turkey, I affirm, it is otherwise.

The younger sort which are sold for slaves, are immediately put to school to learn to read, for they are very poor ignorant creatures; and indeed, after they have turned, they fare very well in those parts, almost as well as their *patroon's* children, if they are any way ingenious.

They say, that these *renegadoes* have a greater blessing than the natural Turks, for they commonly become great men and bear sway; and it is observed by them, that the children of those Turks which marry here in Egypt, seldom live to men's estate, but that the offspring of these *renegadoes* live as long as the natives do, and that they have a blessing on the account of Joseph's being sold into Egypt.

Here are no Turks, you must know, but what come from Turkey, and they are all *yeane-sherres*, or, *janizaries*, i. e. soldiers.

The people of this country (and particularly of Cairo) are very rugged, and much given to passion; they will scold like whores, but seldom care to fight, and when they do, they strike with the palm of their hand, and not with the fist.

They are extremely addicted to cozening and cheating, especially of strangers, who not well acquainted with their coin, and their manner of

buying and selling. When the buyer gives a *parrah* into the sellers' hand, the latter, if it be possible, puts it into his mouth, and makes it quiver between his lips with his breath, and then cunningly takes another, not so good, which he had in his mouth for the purpose, and gives it to the buyer, telling him it is *mokseus*, i. e. clipt. After I was acquainted with this cheat, I would suffer none to mouth my *parrahs*.

They are also very abusive to strangers, insomuch, that it is dangerous for such to be in the streets after candle-lighting; nay, I have known them to fall on a stranger at mid-day, and rob him, and beat him to that degree, that it hath cost him his life. An ancient man, a neighbour of ours at Algier, who put up at the same *hawn* with us, was so abused by villains, as he was walking in some bye lane, that he was never well after, but died in a few weeks.

But though they love cheating of strangers so well, yet they are strict in punishing a false balance; and therefore the bakers' bread is examined into, and if it prove less than the just and legal weight, they take it away and give it to the poor, and punish the offending baker with many hard blows on the bare feet; which I saw several times: for fear of this, many times, such as know their bread to be less than the standard weight, run away, and leave it to be seized on, thereby to avoid corporeal punishment.

There are abundance of buffaloes in this country, which are somewhat bigger than our oxen, all

black, but not quite so hairy; they hold their noses much forward, with their horns pointing backward. The people use them for the same purposes as oxen are used with us.

I need not tell you of the abundance of rice here, for this is known to be the chief country for that commodity in the whole world. But notwithstanding the great plenty which this country abounds with, in all my life I never saw the like multitude of beggars as here; for it is a common thing to see ten, twelve, or more of them, in a company together; and especially Thursday evening, which is the evening before their sabbath; at which time, if there be any charity going, it is shewn.

People, in this country, are much afflicted with sore eyes, and swollen legs; and such as are porters, have some other parts also commonly very much swollen, by bearing of extraordinary heavy burdens. They are generally very strong men, and will carry three hundred weight, or more, on their backs at once; nay, if I mistake not, none are admitted into their company, unless they can carry five hundred weight such a length.

They have a saying, that God hath such a love for this city, that he casts his eyes upon it seven times a day, to behold it with complacency.

Most of the gentry of this country keep eunuchs or gelt negroes, in their houses, with whom they intrust their wives; and wheresoever they go, be it to the bathing-houses, or elsewhere, these eunuchs go with them, and make way for them with

a long staff in their hands. Their masters, indeed intrust them with all, in a manner, and have a great esteem for them, insomuch that they call them masters. The reason, no doubt, is, because they would engage them to be faithful in the trust of their wives.

These eunuchs cost a considerable price, because they are young when they are castrated, and several die to one that lives. They usually grow to a great stature, have an effeminate voice, and never have any hair grow on their faces.

There is a well in this city of Cairo of a very considerable depth, and about twenty feet square; there is a way to go down half way, dug round about it, to which light is given from the top of the well, through great holes dug in the sides of it.

If I mistake not, there are about three hundred broad steps down to the half-way, where there is a stable, in which oxen are kept to draw the water from the bottom; and there is a great cistern, into which the water is emptied, from whence it is drawn by other oxen, after the same manner, to the top.

The way of drawing it up is thus, viz. They have a wheel somewhat like a mill-wheel, on which are two ropes; and between these are fastened little earthen pots to both of the ropes, about four feet distance one from the other. As the ox goes round, so the wheel goes round and brings the pots up full, which empty themselves into the cistern, and so go down empty with their mouth downward, to take in more water.

This contrivance is for their baths, and watering of gardens, &c. But it is not so much for the sake of this machine that I mention this well, as for another reason, viz. because this is affirmed by them to be the well, in which Joseph was kept a prisoner by Potiphar.

But I am afraid I have held the reader too long in suspense before we come to Mecca; I shall beg his patience but a little longer.

From Cairo we proceeded on our journey towards Mecca, and at the bottom, or utmost bounds of the Red Sea, we came to a town called Sues, or Suez, which is about a day's journey from Cairo, and hath a port, where do anchor the ships that use the Mecca voyage. They are an odd sort of vessels, having no decks, and are deeply laden, altogether with provisions for Mecca; for when we had intelligence at Cairo that they were ready, we all furnished ourselves with three, or four months provision, enough to serve us back again to Egypt, and then hired camels for Sues.

In this town we paid a groat or sixpence a gallon for fresh water. Here I saw a great number of large very good brass guns under covert, near the sea, laid one upon another; but forgot to inquire how they were brought there, and what they were designed for.

It is but a few miles after we come out of Egypt before we enter into the wilderness.

After we had sailed about two or three days from Sues, we anchored at Toor, or Tor, or Eltor, a very small town, and port, where we refreshed our-

selves with water; for every passenger carries his own water. We had also here plenty of apricots and other fruit, which were brought from Mount Sinai, which is called by them Toor Dog, i. e. Law-mountain, because the moral law was there given. This mountain, I take it, is about five, or six miles from the sea-side. The papists, I was told have a monastery on it, for which they pay dear to the Turks. Many papists make visits there.

After we had sailed a little further, we were shewed the place where (they say) the children of Israel passed through the Red Sea; which they term by the name of *Kilt. el. Pharown;* i. e. The well or pit of Pharaoh, meaning where he and all his host were drowned in their pursuit after the Israelites.

They report, that in this place is much danger without a fresh gale of wind, because it is a kind of vortex, the water running whirling round, and is apt to swallow down a ship.

I guess, that the breadth of the Red Sea in this place where the Israelites are said to have passed through, is about six or seven leagues.

There is no safe sailing in this sea by night, unless it be in one place of about two nights sail; because of the multitude of rocks, (though I do not observe that the maps describe them) which are so thick, that we were always in sight of some or other of them, sometimes in the midst of a great many of them, and frequently so near, as to be able to throw a stone to them.

Some of these rocks are much bigger than others; some look like little islands, others just appear above water, and some are to be seen a little under water: so that every evening we came to an anchor to the leeward of one rock or other.

Their sailors are prisoners of their own, and, I think, are used as bad, if not worse than any galley slaves in the world.

At the hithermost bounds of the Red Sea, i. e. at Sues where we took shipping, it is but of a little breadth. For the space of four or five days sail from Tor, we keep near the side of the wilderness, on the left hand; and after that, we lose sight of the shore on the right hand.

The water of the Red Sea is generally thought to be much salter hereabout than in other parts, insomuch, that when they took *abdes* with it, (for none did otherwise, because of the scarcity of fresh water) it made their posteriors exceedingly to smart.

We were on this sea about a month. After we had sailed from Sues about twenty days, we came to a place where was buried ashore a *marabbot*, i. e. (as you have heard) a saint, or one reputed eminently devout, and religious; and perhaps some hundreds of years are passed since he was there interred. When we came here, one of the ship's crew (with the consent of the rest) made a little ship, about two foot in length, and went to every one of the *hagges* or pilgrims, (for you must observe that if any die on the journey before they come to Mecca, they are, notwithstanding, ever after termed by

the honourable name of *hagge*) desiring them to bestow their charity in honour of the said *marabbot;* and at such a time they liberally bestow some piece of money to the said end. They then took some small wax candles, with a little bottle of oil, and put them into the ship, together with the money they had received of well-inclined people, as they said, (but I am apt to think they put in but a very small part of it, if any at all, but kept it to themselves.) This being done, they all held up their hands, begging the *marabbot*'s blessing, and praying that they might have a good voyage. And then they put the ship overboard into the sea, not in the least doubting of its safe arrival to the *marabbot*, for the benefit of his sepulchre, though it be a desolate place and not at all inhabited, where he is said to lie interred. Poor ignorant creatures!

This *marabbot*, they have a tradition, died in his voyage towards Mecca; and therefore his memory is most highly esteemed, and venerated by them.

The veneration they have for these *marabbots* is so great, that if any person who hath committed murder, flies to one of the little houses (which, as I informed you, are built upon their sepulchres) for sanctuary, he is as safe as if he were in a convent: for none durst touch him, in order to fetch him thence.

A few days after this, we came to a place called *Rabbock*, about four days sail on this side of Mecca, where all the *hagges* (excepting those of the female

sex,) do enter into *hirrawem*, or *ihram*, i. e. they take off all their clothes, covering themselves with two *hirrawems*, or large white cotton wrappers; one they put about their middle, which reaches down to their ancles; the other, they cover the upper part of the body with except the head; and they wear no other thing on their bodies but these wrappers, only a pair of *gimgameea*, i e. thin-soled shoes, like sandals, the over leather of which covers only the toes, their insteps being all naked. In this manner, like humble penitents they go from Rabbock till they come to Mecca, to approach the temple; many times enduring the scorching heat of the sun, till their very skin is burnt off their backs, and arms, and their heads swollen to a very great degree. Yet, when any man's health is by such austerities in danger, and like to be impaired, they may lawfully put on their clothes, on condition still, that when they come to Mecca, they sacrifice a sheep, and give it to the poor. During the time of their wearing this mortifying habit, which is about the space of seven days, it is held unlawful for them so much as to cut their nails, or to kill a louse, or a flea, though they see them sucking their blood: but yet if they are so troublesome that they cannot well endure it longer, it is lawful for them to remove them from one place of the body to another.

During this time they are very watchful over their tempers, keep a jealous eye upon their passions, and observe a strict government of their tongues, making continual use of a form of devout expressions. And they will also be careful to be

reconciled, and at peace, with all such as they had any difference with, accounting it a very sinful, and shameful thing to bear the least malice against any. They do not shave themselves during this time.

Next we come to Gidda, the nearest sea-port town to Mecca, not quite one day's journey from it, where the ships are unloaded. Here we are met by *dilleels*, i. e. certain persons who come from Mecca on purpose to instruct the *hagges*, or pilgrims, in the ceremonies, (most of them being ignorant of them,) which are to be used in their worship at the temple there; in the middle of which is a place which they call *beat Allah*, i. e. the house of God. They say that Abrāham built it; to which I give no credit.

As soon as we come to the town of Mecca, the *dilleel*, or guide, carries us into the great street, which is in the midst of the town, and to which the temple joins:* after the camels are laid down, he first directs us to the fountains, there to take *abdes*; which being done, he brings us to the temple, into which, (having left our shoes with one who constantly attends to receive them,) we enter at the door called *bab el-salem*, i. e. the welcome gate, or gate of peace. After a few paces entrance, the *dilleel* makes a stand, and holds up his hands towards the *beat Allah*, (it being in the middle of the mosque,) the *hagges* imitating him, and saying after him the same words which he speaks. At the very first sight of the *beat Allah*, the *hagges*

* Note, that before they will provide for themselves, they serve God in their way.

melt into tears; then we are led up to it, still speaking after the *dilleel;* then we are led round it seven times, and then make two *erkaets*. This being done, we are led out into the street again, where we are sometimes to run, and sometimes to walk very quick with the *dilleel*, from one place of the street to the other, about a bow-shot. And I profess, I could not choose but admire to see those poor creatures so extraordinarily devout, and affectionate when they were about these superstitions, and with what awe, and trembling, they were possessed; insomuch, that I could scarce forbear shedding of tears, to see their zeal, though blind and idolatrous. After all this is done, we returned to the place in the street where we left our camels, with our provision, and necessaries, and then look out for lodgings; where, when we come, we disrobe, and take off our *hirrawems*, and put on our ordinary clothes again.

All the pilgrims hold it to be their great duty well to improve their time whilst they are at Mecca, not only to do their accustomed duty, and devotion in the temple, but to spend all their leisure time there, and as far as strength will permit, to continue at *towoaf*, i. e. to walk round the *beat Allah*, which is about four and twenty paces square. At one corner of the *beat*, there is a black stone fastened and framed in with silver plate, and every time they come to that corner they kiss the stone; and having gone round seven times, they perform two *erkaets-nomas*, or prayers. This stone, they say, was formerly white, and then it was called

haggar essaed, i. e. the white stone. But by reason of the sins of the multitudes of people who kiss it, it is become black, and is now called *haggar esswaed*, or the black stone.

This place is so much frequented by people going round it, that the place of *towoaf*, i. e. the circuit which they take in going round it, is seldom void of people at any time of the day, or night. Many have waited several weeks, nay months, for the opportunity of finding it so. For they say, that if any person is blest with such an opportunity, that for his or her zeal in keeping up the honour of *towoaf*, let him petition what they will at the *beat Allah*, they shall be answered. Many will walk round till they are quite weary, then rest, and at it again; carefully remembering at the end of every seventh time to perform two *erkaets*. This *beat* is in effect the object of their devotion, the idol which they adore: for let them be never so far distant from it, east, west, north, or south of it, they will be sure to bow down towards it; but when they are at the *beat*, they may go on which side they please and pay their *sallah* towards it. Sometimes there are several hundreds at *towoaf* at once, especially after *acsham nomas*, or fourth time of service, which is after candle lighting (as you heard before) and these, both men and women; but the women walk on the outside of the men, and the men nearest to the *beat*. In so great a resort as this, it is not to be supposed that every individual person can come to kiss the stone aforementioned; therefore

in such a case, the lifting up the hands towards it, smoothing down their faces, and using a short expression of devotion, as *allah-waick barick*, i. e. blessed God, or *allah cohor*, i. e. great God, or some such like; and so passing by it till opportunity of kissing it offers, is thought sufficient. But when there are but few men at *towoaf*, then the women get opportunity to kiss the said stone; and when they have gotten it, they close in with it as they come round, and walk round as quick as they can come to it again, and so keep possession of it for a considerable time. The men, when they see that the women have got the place, will be so civil as to pass by, and give them leave to take their fill, as I may say, in their *towoaf*, or walking round, during which they are using some formal expressions. When the women are at the stone, then it is esteemed a very rude and abominable thing to go near them, respecting the time and place.

I shall now give you a more particular description of Mecca and the temple there.

First, as to Mecca. It is a town situated in a barren place (about one days journey from the Red Sea) in a valley, or rather in the midst of many little hills. It is a place of no force, wanting both walls, and gates. Its buildings are (as I said before) very ordinary, insomuch that it would be a place of no tolerable entertainment, were it not for the anniversary resort of so many thousand *hagges*, or pilgrims, on whose coming the whole dependance of the town (in a manner)

is; for many shops are scarcely open all the year besides.

The people here, I observed, are a poor sort of people, very thin, lean, and swarthy. The town is surrounded for several miles with many thousands of little hills, which are very near one to the other. I have been on the top of some of them near Mecca, where I could see some miles about, but yet was not able to see the farthest of the hills. They are all stony rock, and blackish, and pretty near of a bigness, appearing at a distance like cocks of hay, but all pointing towards Mecca. Some of them are half a mile in circumference, &c. but all near of one height. The people here have an odd, and foolish sort of tradition concerning them, viz. That when Abraham went about building the *beat Allah*, God by his wonderful providence did so order it, that every mountain in the world should contribute something to the building thereof; and accordingly every one did send its proportion. Though there is a mountain near Algier, which is called *corra dog*, i. e. black mountain. And the reason of its blackness, they say, is because it did not send any part of itself towards building the temple at Mecca. Between these hills is good, and plain travelling, though they stand near one to another.

There is upon the top of one of them a cave, which they term *hira*, i. e. blessing: into which (they say) Mahomet did usually retire for his solitary devotion, meditations, and fastings; and here they believe he had a great part of the *alcoran*

brought him by the angel Gabriel. I have been in this cave, and observed that it is not at all beautified; at which I admired.

About half a mile out of Mecca is a very steep hill, and there are stairs made to go to the top of it, where is a *cupola*, under which is a cloven rock; into this, they say, Mahomet, when very young, viz. about four years of age, was carried by the angel Gabriel, who opened his breast and took out his heart, from which he picked some black blood specks, which was his original corruption; then put it into its place again, and afterward closed up the part; and that during this operation Mahomet felt no pain.

Into this very place I myself went, because the rest of my company did so, and performed some *erkaets*, as they did.

The town hath plenty of water, and yet but few herbs, unless in some particular places. Here are several sorts of good fruits to be had, viz. grapes, melons, water-melons, cucumbers, pumkins, and the like; but these are brought two or three day's journey off, where there is a place of very great plenty, called, if I mistake not, *Habbash*. Likewise sheep are brought hither and sold. So that as to Mecca itself, it affords little or nothing of comfortable provisions. It lieth in a very hot country, insomuch that people run from one side of the streets to the other, to get into the shadow, as the motion of the sun causes it. The inhabitants, especially men, do usually sleep on the tops of the houses for the air, or in the streets before their doors. Some lay the small bedding they

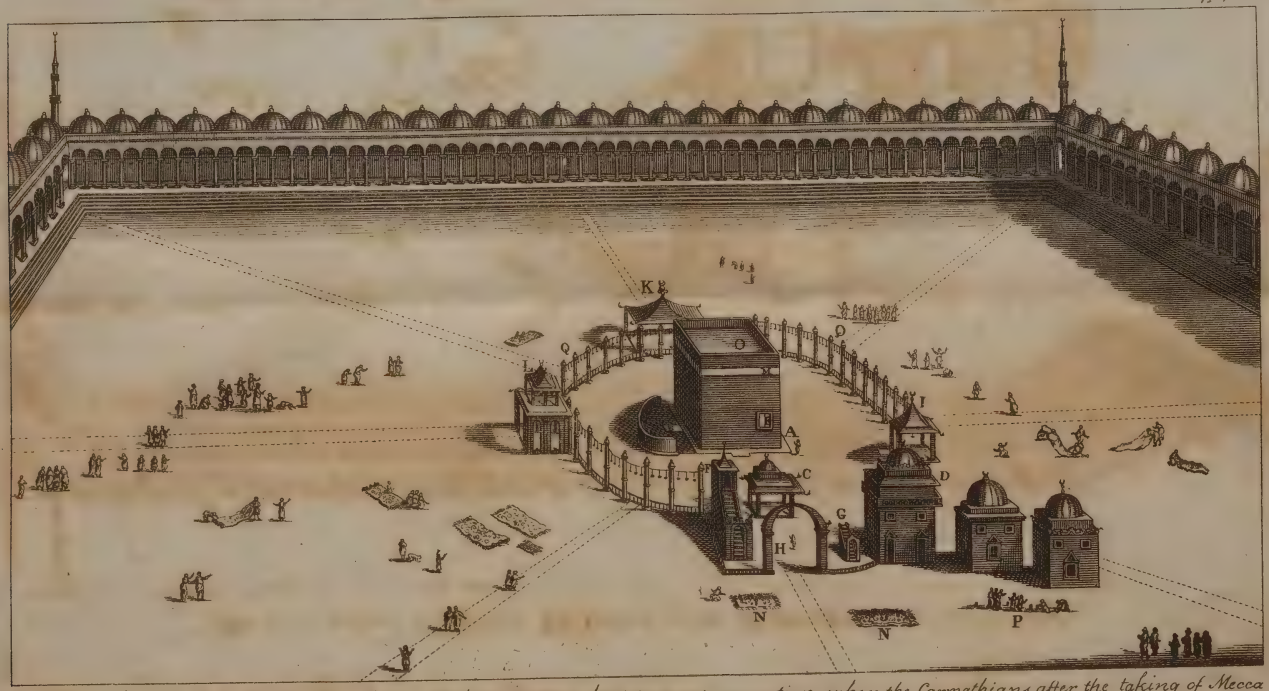
have on a thin mat on the ground; others have a slight frame, made much like drink-stalls on which we place barrels, standing on four legs, corded with palm cordage; on which they put their bedding. Before they bring out their bedding, they sweep the streets, and water them. As for my own part, I usually lay open without any bed covering, on the top of the house; only I took a linen cloth, dipped in water, and after I had wrung it, covered myself with it in the night; and when I awoke I should find it dry; then I would wet it again: and thus I did two or three times in a night.

Secondly, I shall next give you some account of the Temple of Mecca.

It hath about forty-two doors to enter into it, not so much, I think, for necessity, as figure; for in some places they are close by one another. The form of it is much resembling that of the Royal Exchange in London, but I believe it is near ten times bigger. It is all open, and gravelled in the midst, except some paths that come from certain doors which lead to the *beat Allah*, and are paved with broad stones. The walks, or cloisters, all round are arched over head, and paved beneath with fine broad stone; and all round are little rooms, or cells, where such dwell as give themselves up to reading, studying, and a devout life, who are much a-kin to their dervises, or hermits.

The dervises are most commonly such as live an eremetic life, travelling up and down the country like mendicants, living on the charity of others,

The most sacred & ancient TEMPLE *of the* MAHOMETANS *at* MECCA.



A the black stone, which the Arabians, long before Mahomet's time, had in great veneration when the Carmathians after the taking of Mecca carried off this stone, they refused 5 thousand deniers which were offered for restoring it; but after 22 years it was again reposited in its former place in the Caba. B the white stone thought to have been Ishmael's sepulchre; which is called by others the green pavement C Abraham's place where they pretend to shew the marks of his feet. D the building in which is the well Zemzem, whose water is accounted salutary both to the souls and bodies of those who drink it E the gate of the Caba, consisting of two folding doors; to kiss this they ascend the stairs at G & so are conveyed thither F the pulpet, in which they make harangues to the people. G the rolling stairs by which they ascend to the gate of the Caba. H the old gate I the place for the hanbelitæ one of the four chief sects among the Mahometans K the place of the Malekitæ, who are another of the sects L the place of the Hanifæi. the Schafæi meet in the place called Abraham's. M the golden fascia fastened to a black silk veil of Damask, by which the external parts of the Caba are so closely covered, as no part of the walls is to be seen N pieces of tapestry spread on the floor to perform their devotions on O the canal through which the water floweth from the top of the Caba on the stone called Ishmael's sepulchre P the place where vessels filled with the water of the well Zemzem are given to travellers to carry home with them. Q the inner boundary next the Caba which is illuminated in the night time with lamps.

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wearing a white woollen garment, and a long white woollen cap, (much like some of the orders of Friars in the Romish church) with a sheep or goats' skin on their back to lie on, and a long staff in their hand. When they read, they commonly sit down, putting their legs across, and keeping their knees above the ground. They usually carry their beads about their arms or necks; whereas others carry them in their pockets. Many Turks, when they reform, give themselves up to a dervise sort of life: and for an instance, my second patroon had a younger brother, who had lived a very debauched life; but on a sudden, a great change seemed to be wrought upon him, insomuch that he let his beard grow, never shaving it, and put on his great green turban, which none presume to wear, but such as are of the blood and race of Mahomet, and betook himself to the learning his *Elif*, *Be*, *Te*, i. e. A, B, C. In a little time he attained to read very well, and spent a great part of his time in reading. Some of his old jolly companions would laugh at him for it; but he still kept on in this strict way of living, notwithstanding all their banters.

The *beat Allah* which stands in the middle of the temple, is four square, about twenty-four paces each square, and near twenty-four feet in height. It is built with stone, all smooth, and plain, without the least bit of carved work on it. It is covered all over from top to bottom, with a thick sort of silk. Above the middle part of the covering are embroidered all round letters of gold, the

meaning of which I cannot well call to mind; but I think, they were some devout expressions. Each letter is near two feet in length, and two inches broad. Near the lower end of this *beat*, are large brass rings fastened into it, through which, passeth a great cotton rope; and to this the lower end of the covering is tacked. The threshold of the door that belongs to the *beat*, is as high as a man can reach; and therefore when any person enters into it, a sort of ladder-stairs are brought for that purpose. The door is plated all over with silver, and there is a covering hangs over it, and reaches to the ground, which is kept turned up all the week, except Thursday night, and Friday, which is their sabbath. The said covering of the door is very thick embroidered with gold, insomuch that it weighs several score pounds. The top of the *beat* is flat, beaten with lime and sand: and there is a long gutter, or spout, to carry off the water when it rains; at which time the people will run, throng, and struggle, to get under the said gutter, that so the water that comes off the *beat* may fall upon them, accounting it as the dew of heaven, and looking on it as a great happiness to have it drop upon them: but if they can recover some of this water to drink, they esteem it to be yet a much greater happiness. Many poor people make it their endeavour to get some of it, and present it to the *hagges;* for which they are well rewarded.

In Mecca there are thousands of blue pigeons which none will affright, or abuse, much less kill them; and therefore they are so very tame, that

they will pick meat out of one's hand. I mysel have often fed them in the house where I resided while there. They come in great flocks to the temple, where they are usually fed by the *hagges:* for the poor people of Mecca come to them with a little sort of a dish made with rushes with some corn in it, begging them to bestow something on *hammamet metta nabee*, i. e. the pigeons of the prophet. I have heard some say, that in their flight they will never fly over the *beat Allah*, as if they knew it to be the house of God: but it is a very great mistake, for I have seen them oftentimes fly over it.

This *beat Allah* is opened but two days in the space of six weeks, viz. one day for the men, and the next day for the women. As I was at Mecca about four months, I had the opportunity of entering into it twice; a reputed advantage, which many thousands of the *hagges* have not met with. For those that come by land make no longer stay at Mecca than sixteen or seventeen days.

When any enter into the *beat*, all that they have to do is to perform two *erkaets* on each side, with the holding up the two hands, and petitioning at the conclusion of each two *erkaets*. And they are so very reverent and devout, in doing this, that they will not suffer their eyes to wander, and gaze about; for they account it very sinful so to do. Nay, they say, that one was smitten blind for gazing about when in the *beat*, as the reward of his vain, and unlawful curiosity. I could not, for my part, give any credit to this story, but looked

on it as a legendary relation, and therefore was resolved, if I could, to take my view of it; I mean not to continue gazing about it, but now and then to cast an observing eye. And I profess, I found nothing worth seeing in it, only two wooden pillars in the midst to keep up the roof, and a bar of iron fastened to them, on which hanged three or four silver lamps, which are, I suppose, but seldom, if ever lighted. The floor of the *beat* is marble, and so is the inside of the walls, on which there is written something in Arabic, which I had not time to read. The walls, though of marble on the inside, are hung all over with silk, which is pulled off before the *hagges* enter. Those that go into the *beat* tarry there but a very little while, viz. scarce so much as half a quarter of an hour, because others wait for the same privilege; and while some go in, others are going out. After all is over, and all that will, have done this, the sultan of Mecca, who is a *shirreef*, i. e. one of the race of Mahomet, accounts himself not too good to cleanse the *beat;* and therefore with some of his favourites doth wash, and cleanse it. And first of all, they wash it with the holy water, *zem, zem,* and after that with sweet water. The stairs which were brought to enter in at the door of the *beat*, being removed, the people crowd under the door, to receive on them the sweeping of the said water. And the *besoms*, wherewith the *beat* is cleansed, are broken in pieces, and thrown out amongst the mob; and he that gets a small stick, or twig of it, keeps it as a sacred relic.

Every year the covering of this *beat Allah* is renewed in Grand Cairo, by the order of the grand seignior: and when the caravan goes with the *hagges* to Mecca, then is the new covering carried upon two camels, which do no other work all the year long. It is sent out of Egypt with a great deal of rejoicing, and received into Mecca with wonderful joy, many people even weeping for joy, and some kissing the very camels that carry it, bidding them welcome again and again, reaching their hands up to the covering, and then smoothing down their faces. This and a great deal more they do, to show what a veneration they have for this new covering, though not yet put on about the *beat*. Well may you think then what esteem they have for the *beat Allah* itself.

When the old covering, or *hirrawem*, or *irham*, (for so the name of it is) is taken down, the new one is put up by the sultan shirreef of Mecca, with some to assist him. The old covering, the sultan takes into his own custody, for it properly belongs to him, and cuts it in pieces, and sells them to the *hagges*, who care not, almost, how much they give for a piece of it. They being so eager after these shreds, a piece of the bigness of a sheet of paper will cost a *sultane*, i. e. nine or ten shillings. Yea, the very cotton rope (to which the lower part of the covering was fastened) is also cut into pieces, untwisted, and sold. Many buy a piece of the covering of the *beat* on purpose to have it laid on their breast when they are dead, and be buried with them; this they carry always

with them, esteeming it as an excellent amulet to preserve them from all manner of danger. I am apt to believe, that the sultan shirreef makes as much money of the old covering as the new may cost, although, they say, that the work that is in it, is alone the employment of many people for a whole year's space.

But to speak something further of the temple of Mecca; (for I am willing to be very particular in matters about it, though in so being, I should, it may be, speak of things which by some people may be thought trivial.) The compass of ground round the *beat* (where the people exercise themselves in the duty of *towoaf*) is paved with marble about fifty feet in breadth; and round this marble pavement stand pillars of brass about fifteen feet high, and twenty feet distant from each other; above the middle part of which iron bars are fastened, reaching from one to the other, and several lamps made of glass, are hanged to each of the said bars, with brass wires in the form of a triangle, to give light in the night season; for they pay their devotions at the *beat Allah* as much by night, as by day, during the *hagges* stay at Mecca. These glasses are half filled with water, and a third part with oil, on which a round wire of brass is buoyed up with three little corks; in the midst of this wire is made a place to put in the wick, or cotton, which burns till the oil is spent. Every day they are washed clean, and replenished with fresh water, oil, and cotton.

On each of the four squares of the *beat* is a

little room built, and over every one of them is a little chamber with windows all round it, in which chambers the *emaums*, together with the *mezzins*, perform *sallah*, in the audience of all the people which are below. These four chambers are built, one at each square of the *beat*, by reason that there are four sorts of Mahometans. The first are called *hanifee;* most of them are Turks. The second *schafee;* whose manners and ways the Arabians follow. The third *hanbelee;* of which there are but few. The fourth *malekee;* of which are those that live westward of Egypt, even to the emperor of Morocco's country. These all agree in fundamentals, only there is some small difference between them in the ceremonial part.

As for instance, the *hanifees*, when they stand at their devotion, having touched the lower part of their ears with their two thumbs, place their hands on their bellies, the right hand on the left, intimating, that they stand bound in the presence of God, to live well. The *malekees* and *schafees* lift up their hands in a sort of careless manner, and then let them fall down and hang by their sides; which intimates, as they say, a reverence of the divine majesty.

As for the *hanbelees*, they differ but little from the *hanifees;* but of all these four sorts, the *hanifees* seem to be the most serious, devout, and deliberate, in their worship, as well as in their preparatories. Every mussulman is bound to believe in all Mahomet's apostles, as they call them, especially these four, viz. Abu-beker, Omar, Oth-

man, and Ali, who were the great and principal stickler's for the religion of Mahomet after his death. But the *hanbelees* do not own Ali to be one of Mahomet's apostles; upon which account they are looked on by the rest as heretical.

About twelve paces from the *beat* is, as they say, the sepulchre of Abraham, who by God's immediate command, they tell you, built this *beat Allah;* which sepulchre is enclosed within iron grates: it is made somewhat like the tomb-stones which people of fashion have among us, but with a very handsome embroidered covering. Into this persons are very apt to gaze. A small distance from it, on the left hand, is a well, which they call *beer el zem zem*, the water whereof they call holy water; and as superstitiously esteem it as the Papists do theirs. In the month of *Ramadan* they will be sure to break their fast with it. They report that it is as sweet as milk; but for my part, I could perceive no other taste in it than in common water, except that it was somewhat brackish. The *hagges*, when they come first to Mecca, drink of it unreasonably; by which means they are not only much purged, but their flesh breaks out all in pimples: and this they call the purging of their spiritual corruptions. There are hundreds of pitchers belonging to the temple, which in the month of *Ramadan* are filled with the said water, and placed all along before the people, with cups to drink, as they are kneeling and waiting for *acsham nomas*, or evening service; and as soon as the *mezzins* or clerks, on the tops of the *minarets*,

begin their bawling to call them to *nomas*, they fall a drinking thereof, before they begin their devotions. This *beer*, or well, of *zem zem*, is in the midst of one of the little rooms before mentioned at each square of the *beat*, distant about twelve or fourteen paces from it, out of which four men are employed to draw water, without any pay or reward, for any that shall desire it. Each of these men have two leather buckets tied to a rope on a small wheel, one of which comes up full, while the other goes down empty. They do not only drink this water, but oftentimes bathe themselves with it; at which time they take off their clothes, only covering their lower parts with a thin wrapper, and one of the drawers pours on each person's head five or six buckets of water.* The person bathing may lawfully wash himself therewith above the middle, but not his lower parts, because they account them not worthy, only letting the water take its way downwards. In short, they make use of this water only to drink, take *abdes*, and for bathing; neither may they take *abdes* with it, unless they first cleanse their secret parts with other common water. Yea, such an high esteem they have for it, that many *hagges* carry it home to their respective countries in little latten or tin pots, and present it to their friends, half a spoonful, it may be, to each, who

* The worthy Mons. Thevenot saith, that the waters of Mecca are bitter; but I never found them so, but as sweet and as good as any others, for aught as I could perceive.

receive it in the hollow of their hand, with great care and abundance of thanks, sipping a little of it, and bestowing the rest on their faces and naked heads; at the same time holding up their hands, and desiring of God, that they also may be so happy and prosperous as to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca. The reason of their putting such an high value upon the water of this well, is because, as they say, it is the place where Ishmael was laid by his mother Hagar. I have heard them tell the story exactly as it is recorded in the 21st chapter of Genesis; and they say, that in the very place where the child paddled with his feet, the water flowed out.

I shall now inform you how, when, and where, they receive the honourable title of *hagges;* for which they are at all this pains and expense.

The *curbaen byram,* or the feast of sacrifice, follows two months and ten days after the *Ramadan Fast.* The eighth day after the said two months they all enter in *hirrawem,* i. e. put on their mortifying habit again, and in that manner go to a certain hill called *Gibbel el Orphat,* (or *el Arafat*) i. e. the mountain of knowledge; for there, they say, Adam first found and knew his wife Eve. And they likewise say, that she was buried at Gidda near the Red Sea; at whose sepulchre all the *hagges,* who come to Mecca by way of the Red Sea, perform two *erkaets nomas,* and, I think, no more. I could not but smile to hear this their ridiculous tradition, (for so I must pronounce it,) when observing the marks which were

set, the one at the head, and the other at the foot of the grave, I guessed them to be about a bow-shot distant from each other. On the middle of her supposed grave is a little mosque built, where the *hagges* pay their religious respect.

This *gibbel* or hill is not so big as to contain the vast multitudes which resort thither; for it is said by them, that there meet no less than seventy thousand souls every year, on the ninth day after the two months after *Ramadan;* and if it happen that in any year there be wanting some of that number, God, they say, will supply the deficiency by so many angels.

I do confess, the number of *hagges* I saw at this mountain was very great; nevertheless, I cannot think they could amount to so many as seventy thousand. There are certain bound-stones placed round the *gibbel*, in the plain, to shew how far the sacred ground, as they esteem it, extends; and many are so zealous, as to come and pitch their tents within these bounds, some time before the hour of paying their devotion here comes, waiting for it. But why they so solemnly approach this mountain, beyond any other place, and receive from hence the title of *hagges*, I confess, I do not more fully understand than what I have already said, giving but little heed to these delusions. I observed nothing worth seeing on this hill, for there was only a small cupola on the top of it; neither are there any inhabitants nearer to it than Mecca. About one or two of the clock, which is the time of *eulea nomas*, having washed, and made

themselves ready for it, they perform that, and at the same time perform *ekinde nomas*, which they never do at one time but upon this occasion; because, at the time when *ekinde nomas* should be performed in the accustomed order, viz. about four of the clock in the afternoon, they are imploring pardon for their sins, and receiving the *emaum's* benediction.

It was a sight, indeed, able to pierce one's heart, to behold so many thousands in their garments of humility and mortification, with their naked heads and cheeks watered with tears; and to hear their grievous sighs and sobs, begging earnestly for the remission of their sins, and promising newness of life, using a form of penitential expressions; and thus continuing for the space of four or five hours, viz. until the time of *acsham nomas*, which is to be performed about half an hour after sun-set. (It is matter of sorrowful reflection, to compare the indifference of so many Christians, with this zeal of those poor blind Mahometans, who will, it is to be feared, rise up in judgment against them, and condemn them.) After their solemn performance of their devotions thus at the *gibbel*, they all at once receive that honourable title of *hagge* from the *emaum*, or *imam*, and are so styled to their dying day. Immediately, upon their receiving this name, the trumpet is sounded, and they all leave the hill and return for Mecca, and being gone two or three miles on their way, they there rest for that night; but after *nomas*, before they go to rest, each person gathers

nine and forty small stones, about the bigness of an hazle nut; the meaning of which I shall acquaint you with presently.

The next morning they move to a place called Mina, or Muna; the place, as they say, where Abraham went to offer up his son Isaac, and therefore in this place they sacrifice their sheep: it is about two or three miles from Mecca. I was here shown a stone, or little rock, which was parted in the middle. They told me, that when Abraham was going to sacrifice his son, instead of striking him, Providence directed his hand to this stone, which he clave in two. It must be a good stroke indeed!

Here they all pitch their tents (it being in a spacious plain) and spend the time of *curbaen byram*, viz. three days. As soon as their tents are pitched, and all things orderly disposed, every individual *hagge*, the first day, goes and throws seven of the small stones, which they had gathered, against a small pillar, or a little square stone building*. Which action of theirs is intended to testify their defiance of the devil and his deeds; for they at the same time pronounce the following words, viz. *erzum le shetane wazbehe*, i. e. stone the devil, and them that please him. And there are two other of the like pillars, which are situated near one another; at each of which (I mean all

*Monsieur de Thevenot saith, that they throw these stones at the gibbel or mount; but, indeed, it is otherwise; though I must needs say, he is very exact in almost every thing of Turkish matters; and I pay much deference to that great author.

three) the second day, they throw seven stones; and the same they do the third day. As I was going to perform this ceremony of throwing the stones, a facetious *hagge* met me; saith he, you may save your labour at present, if you please, for I have hit out the devil's eyes already.

You must observe, that after they have thrown the seven stones on the first day, (the country people having brought great flocks of sheep to be sold) every one buys a sheep and sacrifices it; some of which they give to their friends, some to the poor which come out of Mecca, and the country adjacent, very ragged poor, and the rest they eat themselves; after which they shave their heads, throw off *hirrawem*, and put on other clothes, and then salute one another with a kiss, saying, *byram mabarick ela*, i. e. the feast be a blessing to you.

These three days of *byram* they spend festivally, rejoicing with abundance of illuminations all night, shooting of guns, and fire works flying in the air; for they reckon that all their sins are now done away, and they shall when they die go directly to heaven, if they do not apostatize; and that for the future, if they keep their vow and do well, God will set down for every good action ten; but if they do ill, God will likewise reckon every evil action ten: and any person, who, after having received the title of *hagge*, shall fall back to a vicious course of life, is esteemed to be very vile and infamous by them.

Some have written, that many of the *hagges*,

after they have returned home, have been so austere to themselves, as to pore a long time over red hot bricks, or ingots of iron, and by that means, willingly lose their sight, desiring to see nothing evil or profane after so sacred a sight as the Temple at Mecca; but I never knew any such thing done.

During their three days stay at Mina, scarce any *hagge*, unless impotent, but thinks it his duty to pay his visit, once at least, to the Temple at Mecca: they scarce cease running all the way thitherward, shewing their vehement desire to have a fresh sight of the *beat Allah;* which as soon as ever they come in sight of, they burst into tears for joy; and after having performed *towoaf* for a while, and a few *erkaets,* they return again to Mina. And when the three days of *byram* are expired, they all with their tents, &c. come back again to Mecca.

They say, that after the *hagges* are gone from Mina to Mecca, God doth usually send a good shower of rain to wash away the filth, and dung of the sacrifices there slain: and also that those vast numbers of little stones, which I told you the *hagges* throw in defiance of the devil, are all carried away by the angels before the year comes about again. But I am sure, I saw vast numbers of them that were thrown the year before, lie upon the ground. After they are returned to Mecca, they can tarry there no longer than the stated time, which is about ten or twelve days; during which time there is a great fair held, where are sold all

manner of East India goods, and abundance of fine stones for rings, and bracelets, &c. brought from Yeamane; also of China ware and musk, and variety of other curiosities. Now is the time in which the *hagges* are busily employed in buying, for they do not think it lawful to buy any thing till they have received the title of *hagge*. Every one almost now buys a *caffin*, or shroud, of fine linen to be buried in, for they never use coffins for that purpose, which might have been procured at Algier, or their other respective homes, at a much cheaper rate; but they choose to buy it here, because they have the advantage of dipping it in the holy water, *zem zem*. They are very careful to carry the said *caffin* with them, wherever they travel, whether by sea or land, that they may be sure to be buried therein.

The evening before they leave Mecca, every one must go to take their solemn leave of the *beat*, entering in at the gate called *babe el salem*, i. e. welcome gate; and having continued at *towoaf* as long as they please, which many do till they are quite tired; and it being the last time of their paying their devotions to it, they do it with floods of tears, as being extremely unwilling to part, and bid farewell, and having drank their fill of the water *zem zem*, they go to one side of the *beat*, their backs being towards the door, called by the name of *babe el weedoh*, i. e. the farewell door, which is opposite to the welcome door; where having performed two or three *erkaets*, they get upon their legs and hold up their hands towards the *beat*, making earnest

petitions; and then keep going backward till they come to the abovesaid farewell gate, being guided by some or other; for they account it a very irreverent thing to turn their backs towards the *beat* when they take leave of it. All the way as they retreat, they continue petitioning, holding up their hands, with their eyes fixed upon the *beat*, till they are out of sight of it; and so go to their lodgings weeping.

Ere I leave Mecca, I shall acquaint you with a passage of a Turk to me in the Temple cloister, in the night time, between *acsham nomas*, and *gega nomas*, i. e. between the evening and the night services. The *hagges* do usually spend that time, or good part of it, which is about an hour and half at *towoaf*, and then sit down on the mats, and rest themselves. This I did; and after I had sat awhile, and for my more ease at last was lying on my back, with my feet towards the *beat*, but at a distance, as many others did; a Turk which sat by me, asked me what countryman I was: a *mogrebee*, said I, i. e. one of the west. Pray, quoth he, how far west did you come? I told him from *Gazair*, i. e. Algier. Ah! replied he, have you taken so much pains, and been at so much cost, and now be guilty of this irreverent posture before the *beat Allah?*

Here are many Moors, who get a beggarly livelihood by selling models of the Temple unto strangers, and in being serviceable to the pilgrims. Here are also several *effendies*, or masters of learning, who daily expound out of the alcoran, sitting

in high chairs; and some of the learned pilgrims, whilst they are here, do undertake the same.

Under the room of the *hanifees*, which I mentioned before, people do usually gather together, between the hours of devotion, and sitting round cross-legged, it may be, twenty or thirty of them, they have a very large pair of *tesbeehs*, or beads, each bead near as big as a man's fist, which they keep passing round, bead after bead, one to the other, all the time, using some devout expressions. I myself was once got in amongst them, and methought it was a pretty play enough for children; however, I was to appearance very devout.

There are likewise some dervises that get money here, as well as at other places, by burning of incense, swinging their censers as they go along before the people that are sitting; and this they do commonly on Fridays, their sabbath. In all other *gamiler*, or mosques, when the *hattib* is preaching, and the people all sitting still at their devotion, they are all in ranks; so that the dervise, without the least disturbance to any, walks between every rank, with his censer in one hand, and with the other takes his powdered incense out of a little pouch that hangs by his side.

But though this place, Mecca, is esteemed so very holy, yet it comes short of none for lewdness and debauchery: as for uncleanness, it is equal to Grand Cairo; and they will steal even in the Temple itself.

I shall now entertain you with a story or two, which may be of use.

The first, of a certain beggar at Mecca, who

would use no other expression to excite the people to charity towards him, than this, *her ne yapparsen gendinga*, i. e. whatsoever thou doest, thou doest it to thyself; implying the reward that will hereafter be conferred on the charitable man. There passed by one of his neighbours, (none of the best men to be sure; but why he did attempt such a desperate thing against the poor beggar, I cannot give an account) who thought with himself, he would try whether this saying of the beggar were true or not; and so goes and makes a cake of bread, and mixes poison with it, and then gave it as an alms to the beggar, who put it thankfully up into his bag; the other, the mean while, thinking in a little time to hear of his death. But the beggar's saying proved true at length, and that unhappily for the man who gave him the poisoned cake; for it happened that a child of his being at play, and seeing the beggar eating, asked him for a piece of bread, and he very innocently gave the child the very same he had received from his father; who eat it, and died. I have reason to believe this story; and if so, it is a wonderful argument to encourage charity to the poor.

Another beggar would always use this expression in begging, viz. *her ne wearersen elingla, O gidder senne la*, i. e. whatsoever thou givest with thy hand, that will go with thee; implying after death. Which shews also, that these blind Mahometans do believe a reward reserved hereafter for the noble virtue of charity.

Now, to what I have related concerning the Mahometans great veneration for the alcoran, and

way of worship in their mosques, together with their pilgrimage to Mecca, and manner of devotion there; I shall only add, that I was lately perusing an English *alcoran**, where I find, in the preface, that the translator saith, that the vulgar are not permitted to read the *alcoran*, but (as the poor Romanists) to live and die in an implicit faith of what they are taught by their priests. This I utterly deny; for it is not only permitted and allowed of, but it is (as I intimated before) looked on as very commendable in any person to be diligent in reading of it. And the same difference there is amongt us, between learned and illiterate persons, there is with them, between such as can and cannot read. They give eight or ten dollars for a copy of the *alcoran*. Their dollar is about two shillings and three pence.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the pilgrims' return from Mecca. Their visit made at Medina to Mahomet's tomb there. The mighty welcome the hagges receive at their return home, and the great rejoicing made on that occasion. Of a dreadful plague at Grand Cairo, &c.

HAVING thus given you an account of the Turks' pilgrimage to Mecca, and of their worship there (the manner and circumstances of which I

* The *alcoran* amongst the Turks, is strictly forbidden to be translated into any other language.

have faithfully and punctually related, and may challenge the world to convict me of a known falsehood,) I now come to take leave of the temple and town of Mecca.

Having hired camels of the carriers, we set out; but we give as much for the hire of one from Mecca to Egypt, which is about forty days journey, as the real worth of it is, viz. about five or six pounds sterling; if it happen that the camel dies by the way, the carrier is to supply us with another; and therefore those carriers who come from Egypt to Mecca with the caravan, bring with them several spare camels; for there is hardly a night passeth but many die upon the road: for, if a camel should chance to fall it is seldom known that it is able to rise again; and if it should, they despair of its being capable of performing the journey, or ever being useful more. It is a common thing therefore, when a camel once falls, to take off its burden, and put it on another, and then kill it, which the poorer sort of the company eat: I myself have eaten of camel's flesh, and it is very sweet and nourishing. If a camel tires, they even leave him upon the place.

The first day we set out from Mecca it was without any order at all, all hurly burly; but the next day every one laboured to get forward; and in order to it, there was many times much quarrelling and fighting: but after every one had taken his place in the caravan, they orderly and peaceably kept the same place till they came to Grand Cairo. They travel four camels in a breast, which are all tied one after the other, like as in

teams. The whole body is called a caravan, which is divided into several *cottors*, or companies, each of which hath its name, and consists, it may be, of several thousand camels; and they move one *cotter* after another, like distinct troops. In the head of each *cotter* is some great gentlemen or officer, who is carried in a thing like an horse-litter, borne by two camels, one before, and the other behind, which is covered all over with sear-cloth, and over that again with green broad-cloth, and set forth very handsomely. If the said great person hath a wife with him, she is carried in another of the same. In the head of every *cotter* there goes likewise a sumpter camel, which carries his treasure, &c. this camel hath two bells, about the bigness of our market bells, hanging one on each side, the sound of which may be heard a great way off. Some other of the camels have round bells about their necks, some about their legs, like those which our carriers put about their fore-horses necks; which, together with the servants (who belong to the camels, and travel on foot) singing all night, make a pleasant noise, and the journey passes away delightfully. They say this music makes the camels brisk and lively. Thus they travel, in good order, every day, till they come to Grand Cairo; and were it not for this order, you may guess what confusion would be amongst such a vast multitude.

They have lights by night, (which is the chief time of travelling, because of the exceeding heat of the sun by day,) which are carried on the tops of high poles, to direct the *hagges* in their march.

They are somewhat like iron stoves, into which they put short dry wood, which some of the camels are loaded with; it is carried in great sacks, which have an hole near the bottom, where the servants take it out, as they see the fires need a recruit. Every *cottor* hath one of these poles belonging to it, some of which have ten, some twelve, of these lights on their tops, or more or less; and they are likewise of different figures as well as numbers; one, perhaps, oval way, like a gate; another triangular, or like an N or M, &c. so that every one knows by them his respective *cottor*. They are carried in the front, and set up in the place where the caravan is to pitch, before that comes up, at some distance from one another. They are also carried by day, not lighted; but yet by the figure and number of them the *hagges* are directed to what *cottor* they belong, as soldiers are, by their colours, where to rendezvous; and without such directions it would be impossible to avoid confusion in such a vast number of people.

Every day, viz. in the morning, they pitch their tents, and rest several hours. When the camels are unloaded, the owners drive them to water, and give them their provender, &c. so that we had nothing to do with them, besides helping to load them.

As soon as our tents were pitched, my business was to make a little fire, and get a pot of coffee. When we had eat some small matter, and drank the coffee, we lay down to sleep. Between eleven and twelve we boiled something for dinner, and having dined, lay down again till about four in

the afternoon; when the trumpet was sounded, which gave notice to every one to take down their tents, pack up their things, and load their camels in order to proceed in their journey. It takes up about two hours time ere they are all in their places again. At the time of *acsham nomas*, and also *gega nomas*, they make a halt, and perform their *sallah*, so punctual are they in their worship, and then they travel till next morning. If water be scarce, what I call an imaginary *abdes* will do. As for ancient men, it being very troublesome for such to alight off the camels, and get up again, it is lawful for them to defer these two times of *nomas* till the next day; but they will be sure to perform it then.

As for provisions, we bring enough out of Egypt to suffice us till we return thither again. At Mecca we compute how much will serve us for one day, and consequently, for the forty days journey to Egypt; and, if we find we have more than we may well guess will suffice us for so long a time, we sell the overplus at Mecca. There is a charity maintained by the Grand Seignior, for water to refresh the poor who travel on foot all the way; for there are many such undertake this journey, or pilgrimage, without any money, relying on the charity of the *hagges* for subsistence, knowing that they largely extend it at such a time.

Every *hagge* carries his provisions, water, bedding, &c. with him, and usually three or four diet together, and sometimes discharge a poor man's expenses the whole journey for his attendance on them. There was an Irish renegado, who

was taken very young, insomuch that he had not only lost his Christian religion, but his native language also. This man had endured thirty years slavery in Spain, and in the French gallies; but was afterwards redeemed, and came home to Algier. He was looked upon as a very pious man, and a great zealot, by the Turks, for his not turning from the Mahometan faith, notwithstanding the great temptations he had so to do. Some of my neighbours, who intended for Mecca, the same year I went with my patroon thither, offered this renegado, that if he would serve them on this journey they would defray his charges throughout. He gladly embraced the offer; and I remember, when we arrived at Mecca, he passionately told me, that God had delivered him out of an hell upon earth, meaning his former slavery in France and Spain, and had brought him into an heaven upon earth, viz. Mecca. I admired much his zeal, but pitied his condition.

Their water they carry in goat-skins, which they fasten to one side of their camels. It sometimes happens, that no water is to be met with for two, three, or more days; but yet, it is well known that a camel is a creature that can live long without drinking, God in his wise providence so ordering it; for otherwise it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to travel through the parched deserts of Arabia. Every tents' company have their convenient place for easing nature, viz. four long poles fixed square, about three or four feet distance from each other, which is hung

round with canvas, because, as I said before, the Mahometans esteem it very odious to be seen while they are exonerating. And besides, otherwise, if they should go too far, they would hardly be able to find the way to their tent again.

In this journey many times the skulking, thievish Arabs, do much mischief to some of the *hagges;* for, in the night time they will steal upon them, especially such as are on the outside of the caravan, and being taken to be some of the servants that belong to the carriers, or owners of the camels, they are not suspected: when they see an *hagge* fast asleep, (for it is usual for them to sleep on the road,) they loose a camel before and behind, and one of the thieves leads it away with the *hagge* upon its back asleep. Another of them, in the mean time, pulls on the next camel, to tie it to the camel from whence the halter of the other was cut; for if that camel be not fastened again to the leading camel, it will stop, and all that are behind will then stop of course, which might be a means of discovering the robbers. When they have gotten the stolen camel, with his rider, at a convenient distance from the caravan, and think themselves out of danger, they awake the *hagge,* and sometimes destroy him immediately; but at other times, being a little more inclined to mercy, they strip him naked, and let him return to the caravan.

About the tenth easy day's journey after we came out of Mecca, we enter into Medina, the place where Mahomet lies intombed. Although it be, as I take it, two or three days journey out of the direct way from Mecca to Egypt; yet the

hagges pay their visit there, for the space of two days, and come away the third.

Those Mahometans which live to the southward of Mecca, at the East Indies, and thereaway, are not bound to make a visit to Medina, but to Mecca only, because it would be so much out of their way. But such as come from Turkey, Tartary, Egypt, and Africa, think themselves obliged so to do.

Medina is but a little town, and poor, yet it is walled round, and hath in it a great mosque, but nothing near so big as the temple at Mecca. In one corner of the mosque is a place built about fourteen or fifteen paces square. About this place are great windows fenced with brass grates. In the inside it is decked with some lamps, and ornaments. It is arched all over head. I find some relate, that there are no less than three thousand lamps about Mahomet's tomb; but it is a mistake, for there are not, as I verily believe, an hundred: and I speak what I know, and have been an eye-witness of. In the middle of this place is the tomb of Mahomet, where the corpse of that bloody impostor is laid, which hath silk curtains all around it like a bed; which curtains are not costly nor beautiful. There is nothing of his tomb to be seen by any, by reason of the curtains round it; nor are any of the *hagges* permitted to enter there: none go in but the eunuchs, who keep watch over it, and they only to light the lamps which burn there by night, and to sweep and cleanse the place. All the privilege the *hagges* have, is only to thrust in their hands at the windows between the brass grates, and to petition the dead juggler, which they

do with a wonderful deal of reverence, affection, and zeal. My patroon had his silk handkerchief stole out of his bosom, while he stood at his devotion here.

It is storied by some, that the coffin of Mahomet hangs up by the attractive virtue of a loadstone to the roof of the mosque; but believe me, it is a false story. When I looked through the brass grate I saw as much as any of the *hagges;* and the top of the curtains, which covered the tomb, were not half so high as the roof or arch; so that it is impossible his coffin should be hanging there. I never heard the Mahometans say any thing like it. On the outside of this place, where Mahomet's tomb is, are some sepulchres of their reputed saints; among which is one prepared for Christ Jesus, when he shall come again personally into the world; for they hold that Christ will come again in the flesh, forty years before the end of the world, to confirm the Mahometan faith, and say, likewise, that our Saviour was not crucified in person, but in effigy, or one like him.

Medina is much supplied by the opposite Abyssine country, which is on the other side of the Red Sea; from thence they have corn and necessaries brought in ships: an odd sort of vessels as ever I saw, their sails being made of matting, such as they use in their houses and mosques to tread upon.

When we had taken our leave of Medina, the third day, and travelled about ten days more, we were met by a great many Arabians, who brought abundance of fruit to us, particularly raisins: but

from whence I cannot tell. When we came within fifteen days journey of Grand Cairo we were met by many people who came from thence, with their camels laden with presents for the *hagges*, sent from their friends and relations, as sweet-meats, &c. But some of them came rather for profit, to sell fresh provisions to the *hagges*, and trade with them.

About ten days before we got to Cairo, we came to a very long steep hill, called Ackaba, which the *hagges* are usually much afraid how they shall be able to get up. Those who can will walk it. The poor camels, having no hoofs, find it very hard work, and many drop here. They were all untied, and we dealt gently with them, moving very slowly, and often halting. Before we came to this hill I observed no descent, and when we were at the top there was none, but all plain as before.

We passed by Mount Sinai by night, and, perhaps, when I was asleep; so that I had no prospect of it.

When we came within seven days journey of Cairo, we were met by abundance of people more, some hundreds, who came to welcome their friends and relations; but it being night, it was difficult to find those they wanted, and therefore as the caravans passed along they kept calling them aloud by their names, and by this means found them out. And when we were within three days journey of it, we had many camel-loads of the water of the Nile brought us to drink. But the day and the night before we came to Cairo, thousands came out to meet us, with extraordinary rejoicing. It is thirty-seven days journey from Mecca to Cairo,

and three days we tarry by the way, which together make up, as I said, forty days journey; and in all this way, there is scarce any green thing to be met with, nor beast or fowl to be seen or heard, nothing but sand and stones, excepting one place which we passed by night; I suppose it was a village, where were some trees, and, as we thought, gardens.

We travelled through a certain valley, which is called by the name of *attash el wait*, i. e. the river of fire, the vale being so excessively hot, that the very water in their goat skins hath sometimes been dried up with the gloomy, scorching heat. But we had the happiness to pass through it when it rained, so that the fervent heat was much allayed thereby; which the *hagges* looked on as a great blessing, and did not a little praise God for it. When we came to Cairo, the plague was very hot there, insomuch that it was reported, there died sixty thousand within a fortnight's time; wherefore we hastened away to Rosetta, and from thence to Alexandria; where, in a little time, there was a ship of Algier ready to transport us thither.

After we came to Alexandria, I was walking with the Irish *renegado* I spake of but now (who was maintained in his pilgrimage to Mecca, for his service and attendance, &c.) on the quay, where was an English boat with a man in it. The renegado was very earnest for me to speak to the man; and I would have done it without a request, had I thought it safe, or convenient. But the more importunate he was, the more shy I seemed, for I feared some ill consequence might attend it. However, watching an opportunity, I spoke to

him, and asked of him, from whence his ship? He looked intently in my face, and said from Topsham. At which words my heart smote me. I asked him further, who was the master? He replied, Mr. Bear of Topsham. He then asked me where I learned my English? I told him in England. Are you an Englishman then? quoth he. I told him, yes. Of what part of England? continued he. Of Exeter, said I. I told him also, with whom I was taken, and other circumstances; but did not think fit to hold any long discourse with him, and so passed from him. It happened, that there was at this time, on board Mr. Bear, one John Cleak of Lymson, whom I very well knew, when we were boys together. He hearing of what had passed, came ashore the next day, with the said man, who spying me walking, told Cleak, I was the man; whereupon he came running to me, and hugged me in his arms, saying, Joe, I am glad to see thee with all my heart! I did not know him at first, till he told me who he was; I called him to mind, but was afraid to hold any discourse with him, though very desirous to have further talk with him. He desired to drink a glass of wine with me; but I refused, alleging, that I was newly come from Mecca, and therefore it would be much taken notice of. He then invited me to the coffee-house with him; but I told him it would not be convenient for me to go thither neither, because the house was full of Turks. So we did not go. But I inquired of my father's, and friends healths; and he told me he saw my father but a little before he came away. I desired him

to carry a letter for me; he told me he would. The letter you have inserted hereafter; and I sent by him a Turkish pipe to my father, and a green silk purse to my mother, and at the same time, gave him a sash for himself; withal telling him, that I hoped God would find out some way for my escape. But truly I was troubled that I could not conveniently have had some conversation with my old acquaintance. This was no small renewal of my affliction; and when I thought upon the circumstances I was then in, my heart did bleed.

The plague was hot in Alexandria, at this time; and some persons infected with it being taken on board our ship, which was bound for Algier, the plague reigned amongst us: insomuch that besides those that recovered, we threw twenty persons overboard, who died of it. And truly I was not a little afraid of the distemper, and wished I were safe at Algier, hoping that if I were got there I should escape it. But soon after we got ashore there, I was seized with it, but through the Divine Goodness, escaped death. It rose under my arm, and the boil which usually accompanies the plague rose on my leg. After it was much swollen, I was desirous to have it lanced; but my patroon told me it was not soft enough. There was a neighbour, a Spaniard slave, who advised me to roast an onion, and apply a piece of it, dipped in oil, to the swelling, to mollify it; which accordingly I did. The next day it became soft: and then my patroon had it lanced, and through the blessing of my good God, I recovered. Such a signal mercy I hope I shall never forget; a mercy so circumstantiated, consi-

dering every thing, that my soul shall thankfully call it to mind, as long as I have any being. For I was just returned from Mecca when this mercy was dispensed to me; I do observe the Divine Providence plainly in it, and hope ever to make the best use of it.

Being now got back again to Algier from our long pilgrimage, I shall acquaint you with some things which have been hitherto omitted, and may as properly come in here as any where else.

The women of Algier look on it as very ornamental to wear great rings, almost like gyves, or fetters, about their legs, and also their arm-wrists. Some wear them of gold, others of silver, others of brass, and some of horn, i. e. in the country. And if the country women can get a few ordinary stones, and cloves to string up and make a bracelet with, they think themselves very fine indeed. The women here commonly paint their hands and feet with a certain plant called *kennah*, dried and beaten to powder, which they moisten with water, and so use it; and in a month's time, or thereabout, it makes the part of a deep saffron colour. The like is often done to their horses, if white, i. e. they dye their feet, tail, and mane, and under the saddle, of the said colour.

There are some Jews here, who wear their shirts without their drawers, or breeches; for what reason I never inquired, but it was undoubtedly designed as a mark of distinction.

A few years before I came from Algier, there happened a terrible fire among their ships in the

mole, a little before candle lighting: several of their fine ships were burnt, among which was one that was reputed the biggest that ever was built in Algier. This noble ship was just finished, and fit for a voyage, able to carry sixty guns, when this fire broke out. Besides, several prizes were burnt, in all about sixteen sail: they had much ado to save their three galleys; and had the wind been harder the fire must have burnt their ships on the stocks, and all the timber that lay by. Their castle on the mole was likewise in danger, for they were not a little afraid that the powder magazines would take fire. It was a most dreadful fire, and yet, methought, I could not be much concerned for the sufferers, because these very ships would in all probability have otherwise been a means of bringing many poor Christians into slavery.

While I was at Algier, there was a prize brought in by a *frigatto*, as they call it, i. e. a long sort of vessel, with eleven or twelve oars on each side, and with sails galley like, fit only for the summer's expeditions. These are generally manned with Moors, well armed with small arms, having five or six pattareroes. They get over to the Spanish shore, but mostly about Majorca, and Minorca, and there sculk about the creeks, waiting to snap small coasters: and where they know is an house, they will land and carry off the whole family. When this *frigatto* came to Algier, it was reported by the *frigattogees*, that the Christians, who were in the taken ship, ran ashore, and that the said prize was found, without a soul therein, on the seas; which to some seemed very strange, because

the boat was all this while in the prize, and to be sure they could not fly to the shore. It was the general suspicion therefore, that they had barbarously thrown the poor men of the ship overboard. And a little time after, I myself was credibly informed, that one of the *frigattogees* was heard, on a time, to say, that nothing grieved him so much as to see such a pretty boy thrown over board. And it was in all likelihood an English ship, of about thirty, or forty tun, richly laden; which probably was the occasion of this barbarity; for it was in a time when the English had peace with the Turks. And I must tell you, it is not the first time, by a great many, that, when we have had peace with them, they have turned *isbandote*, i. e. buccaniers, robbers, perfidious villains, or what you will call them, and have taken our ships, and sold ship, men, cargo, and all, to those who have, at the same time, been at war with us. I must confess, this treachery is not allowed of in Algier; but yet, after some time, a sum of money to the dey makes up all, and it is connived at, and in a little time forgotten.

In Algier, as well as in other places, on Friday, their sabbath, in the afternoon they generally take their recreation. And amongst their several sports and diversions, they have a comical sort of wrestling, which is performed about a quarter of a mile without the gate, called *bab el wait*, which is the western gate. There is a plain just by the sea-side, where, when the people are gathered together, they make a ring, all sitting on the ground expecting the combatants. Anon, there comes

one boldly in, and strips all to his drawers. Having done this, he turns his back to the ring, and his face towards his clothes on the ground. He then pitcheth on his right knee, and then throws abroad his arms three times, clapping his hands together as often, just above the ground; which having done, he puts the backside of his hand to the ground, and then kisseth his fingers, and puts them to his forehead; then makes two or three good springs into the middle of the ring, and there he stands with his left hand to his left ear, and his right hand to his left elbow; in this posture the challenger stands, not looking about, till some one comes into the ring to take him up; and he that comes to take him up does the very same postures, and then stands by the side of him, in the manner aforesaid. Then the tryer of the play comes behind the *pilewans*, (for so the wrestlers are termed by them) and covers their naked backs, and heads, and makes a short harangue to the spectators. After which the *pilewans* face each other, and then both at once slap their hands on their thighs, then clap them together, and then lift them up as high as their shoulders, and cause the palms of their hands to meet, and with the same, dash their heads one against another three times so hard, that many times the blood runs down. This being done, they walk off from one another, and traverse their ground, eyeing each other like two game cocks. If either of them find his hands moist, he rubs them on the ground, for the better hold fast: and they will make an offer of closing twice or thrice before they do. They

will come as often within five or six yards one of the other, and clap their hands to each other, and then put forward the left leg, bowing their body, and leaning with the left elbow on the left knee, for a little while, looking one at the other (as I said) just like two fighting cocks. Then they walk a turn again; then at it they go: and as they are naked to the middle, and so there is but little holdfast, there is much ado before one hath a fair cast on his back; they having none of our Devonshire, or Cornish skill. He that throws the other goes round the ring, taking money of many that give it him, which is but a small matter, it may be, a farthing, an halfpenny, or a penny of a person, which is much. Having gone the round, he goes to the tryer and delivers him the money so collected, who in a short time returns it again to the conqueror, and makes a short speech of thanks. And, it may be, while this is doing, other two shall come into the ring to wrestle.

But at their *byrams*, or feasts, those which are the most famous *pilewans*, come in to show their parts, before the dey, eight or ten together. These anoint themselves all over with oil, having on their bodies but a pair of leathern drawers, which are well oiled too: they stand in the street near *bab el wait* (the above said gate,) without which are all their sports held, spreading out their arms, as if they would oil peoples fine clothes, unless they give them some money; which many do to carry on the humour. They are, as I said, the choice of all the stout wrestlers, and wrestle before the dey, who sits on a carpet spread on the ground,

looking on: and when the sport is over, he gives, it may be, two or three dollars to each. After which the dey with the bashaw mount their horses, and several *spahys* ride one after another, throwing sticks made like lances, at each other; and the dey rides after one or other of them, who is his favourite, and throws his wooden lance at him; and if he happens to hit him, the *spahy* comes off his horse to the dey, who gives him money. After all which diversions, they ride to the place where the dey hath a tent pitched, and there they spend the afternoon in eating and drinking of coffee, and pleasant talk, but no wine. The dey usually appears in no great splendour at Algier. For I have seen him oftentimes ride into the town from his garden in a morning on a mule, attended only by a slave on another.

Being thus, as I have told you, returned to Algier from Mecca, and my patroon having given me my letter of freedom, I became a soldier, and entered into pay, which is about twenty pound sterling per annum. There are about twelve thousand *janizaries* in Algier, including the invalids who have half-pay.

The first camp I made after I was thus for myself (as I may say) was, as I remember, against Oran a Spanish garrison on the Barbary shore, within the territories of Algier; which is a great eye-sore to the Algerines, and proves oftentimes no small damage to the country about them.

When these Spaniards of Oran have war with the neighbouring Moors, they often make incursions, and do great spoil among them, and bring

them slaves into Oran, and from thence send them to Spain. But as it commonly happens, that private, and intestine quarrels and dissensions do more mischief to a people than the force of a foreign enemy, so many times the Moors fall out among themselves, and the consequence is, that some one or other of them, to be revenged, steals away by night, and gets to Oran, and there agrees, for a sum of money, with the marquis, or governor, to discover, and lead him to such or such a village, that he may pillage it. The Spaniard glad of the bargain, goes forth by night, falls upon the said village by surprise, and takes and carries away men, women, children, cattle, and all. This hath been often done. But then let the traitor look to it, for there is no more coming back into his own country without certain death. But he must stay all his lifetime with the Spaniards, and if occasion be, fight for them; but he is allowed to retain the Mahometan religion.

The advantage the Spanish king hath by keeping this garrison, one would think, should be inconsiderable. But I know it to be of some, viz. that when the Moors adjacent, have peace with Oran, as they mostly have, they bring a great many necessaries into their market to sell, and the country affords great plenty of wheat, barley, butter, honey, sheep, wax, &c. which the Spaniards buy and carry in ships into Spain. It hath also been of great service to vessels when chased by Algerines; for they have oftentimes got into Oran, and so saved themselves.

As I was speaking, the first camp I made was

against this Oran. The dey was there in person, with about 3 or 4000 men, which with them is reckoned a great force; with bombs also, and several pieces of cannon. We laid siege against it about three months, plying sometimes our cannon, and sometimes our bombs; but all that we did, signified not much, for the Turks in Algier are nothing expert in firing bombs. The Spaniards, on the other side, had orders not to sally out, but to be upon the defensive. And the Algerines had not courage enough to come very near the town. I was a *bombagee*, i. e. one who assists in firing the bombs. After we had raised a battery to secure ourselves from their cannon, we placed our cannon and mortars behind it, and then began to ply them against a castle, which was without the town. We fired on them before they did on us. And no sooner was our first cannon discharged, but the Turks sculked behind the battery, as if the enemy's cannon could reach us the very moment we fired. I mention this as an instance of their bravery. In this great expedition we lost three men, and I think the Spaniards not so many.

Whilst we were besieging Oran, the French came a third time to bombard Algier, *anno* 1688. (when that tragedy happened, which you will hear of hereafter,) and there happened some bombs to fall on the *kaznah*, i. e. the treasury or place where the money was kept, which was to pay off the soldiers. Immediately upon which, there was an express dispatched to the dey, as he lay before Oran, signifying the absolute necessity of his presence at Algier. He forthwith rode post thither,

and having pacified matters, as it was thought, and secured the *haznah*, in a little time, returned to the camp. But soon after this, there was a plot hatching to take away this dey's life. His name was Ibrahim, i. e. Abraham, Hogea, i. e. scribe, because he was, before he came to be dey, but an ordinary man, though indifferently well skilled in letters.

The nature of the plot was this. Ibrahim Hogea was *cayah*, or deputy to Hagge Heusin, or Medio-morto; (who, as you will find, succeeded him in the deyship, though he was dey before him too.) This Medio-morto, being a politic man, and well knowing what a ticklish, though splendid, place he was in, when first dey, made what interest he could privately, to be advanced to be a bashaw; for then he knew he should be safe from all evil designs, which otherwise might be laid against him. For the bashaw of Algier is no way concerned in the government, but only represents the state of the Grand Seignior, and hath allowance sufficient to maintain it.

Now Medio-morto's design was not only to be made a bashaw, but so to work matters, as to be called home to Turkey by the Grand Seignior, and so to be quite out of fear of danger. For it is customary, upon reasons of state, to remand one bashaw, and send another in his room. This scheme Medio-morto soon accomplished; and then Ibrahim became dey in his room: and all things seemed to be very quiet and serene. According to Medio-morto's design, a ship came

from Constantinople to Algier with a new bashaw, and to carry the old one, viz. himself, to Turkey. At this very time, as I was speaking, we were besieging Oran, whither came an express to acquaint the dey of the arrival of the ship to fetch Medio-morto. The dey immediately sent back an express to tell him, that if he went from Algier, he should go as he came, viz. with just nothing. For he had intrusted Medio-morto in his absence with the *haznah*, or treasury, and so was afraid lest he should have gone off with good part of the riches. Medio-morto being thus disappointed, excused himself from going to Constantinople, and remained still in Algier, where he made it his business to gain a party to himself, in order, if an occasion did offer, to set himself up for dey again, to be revenged on Ibrahim for the ill treatment he had met with from him. Accordingly he carried on his plot so successfully that the conspiracy grew to such a head, that an express came to our camp before Oran to arrest the dey, viz. Ibrahim. The express came to the aga, or colonel of our camp; for the letter was directed to him, and the dey happening to be in the aga's tent at the very same time the express came, took the letter first into his own hand, and running it over to himself, went immediately to his own tent, took what light treasure he could, and with two or three friends made his escape. Presently the rumour went through the camp, and it was all in a confusion. So that had the Spaniards nicked that opportunity, and made a sally upon us, they might have done great execution. But they did not; and the next day we drew off

our forces, and marched back to Algier again, where the said dey never appeared more after this. So that Hagge Heusin succeeded him in the dey-ship, though he had been dey before, who was nicknamed by the Christians, Medio-morto, i. e. half dead: because he was a very weak, and sickly man.

This dey was also, a little time after he came to his new honour, forced to fly for it, or else he had lost his life: for becoming dey again, he ceased to be a bashaw. He got up to Turkey, where he became capatan-bashaw, i. e. the head of the captains of the Grand Turk's men of war, or admiral. And indeed it is a rare thing for a dey of Algier to die a natural death. It was but a few years before I was taken, that Hagge Allee, who was dey, was murdered. And some years after I had been there, Baba Hassen, i. e. Father Hassen, was also slain.

The year after this, the Moors belonging to the emperor of Morocco broke their bounds, and damaged the Moors within the territories of Algier, westward of Tillimsan. The Algerine Turks which kept garrison in Tillimsan sallied out to assist the Moors of their side, but lost most of their men in the action. The dey of Algier being enraged at this, immediately caused a great camp to march forth of Algier, with cannon, and bombs, in order to be revenged on the emperor of Morocco. We were in all about three thousand foot, and two thousand horse of Turks, and about three thousand horse of Moors. We marched into the emperor of Morocco's country, and all the inhabitants as we went declared for the dey. At length we

came within half a day's journey of the enemy's camp, which consisted, as it was supposed, of thirty thousand men; notwithstanding, we thought they would not have faced us. When we came within five or six miles of the enemy, we called a council of war; at which time notice is always given to all the soldiers to draw near to the dey's tent, where the council of war is held. In the conclusion it was resolved to attack the enemy, and in doing this it was ordered, that half the infantry and half the cavalry should march before with the baggage, and the rest were to come behind. It was my place to be in the rear, but being desirous to see the beginning of it, I offered to exchange places with one of the tent wherein I was, who gladly accepted it. Coming forth from between two mountains, at the bottom of the hill, we saw the enemy before us, their tents being all pitched on the further side of the river Melweea, which may be seen in the maps of that country. Here we were at a stand; for positive orders were given, that no man should fire a piece till our camp was pitched. However, we had not patience very long, but ran down the hill to the river-side, and at it we went, without any order, three or four behind one bush, five or six behind another, &c. After we had been engaged about half an hour, the enemy seeing we were but few in number, in comparison of them, made an attempt to pass the river, but we hindered them. This attempt of theirs was a discovery to us where the river was passable, which we knew not before, being altogether strangers; and in most places it was very deep. When we

had been engaged about an hour, or somewhat more, our party which was in the rear came up with us, and then the enemy's hearts began to flag. We then plied them with our artillery and bombs; so that in a very short time they fled, and left to us their tents and baggage. We soon passed the river, every trooper taking one of the foot behind him, and our spahys, which were about three thousand, pursued their horse; their foot taking to the mountains. But at length the enemy's horse perceiving themselves to exceed ours in number, wheeled about towards us, which made our horse wheel towards our foot, at which time was the greatest of our loss. But the enemy were afraid to come near our foot, and so wheeled about again, and marched off. After we had buried our dead, and tarried two or three days by the river, we marched forward three or four days march, intending to storm Fez, and we advanced so far, as within one day's journey of it, where the whole body of the enemy lay. The emperor of Morocco hearing that his son, the general in the late engagement, was defeated, came against us in person, with what forces he could make. We pitched within two or three miles of him, in a vast plain, in sight of each other. After we had looked on one another for about an hour or two, the emperor sent an ambassador to our dey, to treat of peace; who after he had tarried with the dey about an hour, returned with an ambassador of ours to his master.

Upon his having audience of the emperor, it was concluded, that the next day the emperor and

the dey should meet on horseback, in the middle way between the two camps, each with fifty horse to attend him. When they came near one another, the rest of the horse halted, and the emperor and the dey, with a servant each, went to meet and salute one another; and after high compliments on both sides, a carpet was spread on the ground, and down they sat. In two or three hours time all matters were adjusted. The emperor promised to give satisfaction for the charges the dey had been at, urging this as an argument of accommodation, viz. "our principles are to fight against the Christians, and weaken their interest, and not to worry one another." Upon this easy agreement, the emperor presented our dey with his saddle which was all of beaten gold; and the next day we marched back again for Algier, and thus ended the campaign. All matters being thus accommodated between the two potentates, at the time appointed in the treaty, the emperor of Morocco sent his son to Algier, with treasure sufficient to pay for the damage done the Algerines, and many rich presents.

In a few days after, the prince of Morocco came to Algier, it happened to be *byram;* and it being a time of more leisure than ordinary, thousands of country Moors flocked thither to see him, and to behold the sports and entertainments which were prepared for him, without the gate *bab el wait*. At the time of these sports, there happened a quarrel betwixt a Turk and some Moors; whereupon the Turks all began to cry out, that the Moors had a design to rise and rebel; which took the more

easily with the Turks' mob, because the prince of Morocco happened to be there at that very juncture. And therefore they all ran into the city of Algier, and betook themselves to arms, and would suffer no Moor to enter the gate without examination. In this fray there were, in the several quarters of the town, about three or four score innocent Moors killed; for the outcry of the Turks was altogether groundless, and a false alarm. However this tragedy dashed all their sports and recreations, and the prince himself was put into a great concern, and much feared what the event of it would prove.

CHAP. IX.

An account of the author's turning Mahometan, through the barbarous cruelties and tortures which he suffered. Of the concern and remorse he had thereupon. A letter from his father. A letter from him to his father. A conspiracy contrived by his second patroon to be dey of Algier.

THE reader, I suppose, will expect an account, how I became qualified to write such an history as this, (though it may be guessed at by what has gone before,) and how I was let into the secrets of the Mahometan religion, so as to be able to give such an exact description of it, and particularly of their pilgrimage to Mecca, and their devotions there; when it is as much as a Christian's life is worth to go into the temple. And truly, I will not dissemble, but, undervaluing all the censures

of the world, freely and particularly declare the whole matter; and herein I will deliver nothing but naked truth, as I protest I have hitherto done, i. e. what I speak as of my own knowledge, in this whole relation.

I spake something before of the cruelties exercised upon me by the Turks; but now shall give a more particular account of them; which were so many, and so great, that I being then but young, could no longer endure them, and therefore turned Turk to avoid them. GOD BE MERCIFUL TO ME A SINNER!

It is usually reported among us here in England, that when any Christians are taken by the Algerines, they are put to the extremest tortures, that so they may be thereby brought over to the Mahometan faith; and I doubt not, many who have been slaves in the Turks' country and come home again, have asserted so much out of vanity, to be thought to relate something very affecting to such as are strangers to that country. But I do assure the reader it is a very false report; for they very seldom use any such severities on that account, though it was my hard lot to be so unmercifully dealt with: they do not use to force any Christian to renounce his religion.

Indeed, in the grand Turks' country, in Egypt, and the parts thereabout, where those sorts of Christians are, which are taken by the Tartars, coming out of the country of the Russians, Georgians, Circassians, &c. these being a very ignorant sort of Christians, and especially the younger of them, are no sooner taken slaves, and sold, but

they are immediately clothed with the Turkish habit, put to school, and brought up in the Mahometan way. But in Algier I aver, it is otherwise; for I have known some Turks there, who, when they have perceived their slaves inclinable to turn, have forthwith sold them; though by some of them this is looked on as very odd, and to savour too much of a want of religion. But the truth is, they are more in love with their money than they are with the welfare of their slaves; for you must know, that when a Christian slave turns Mahometan, there can be no ransom for him; and it is looked on as an infamous thing for any patroon, in some few years time after they have turned, to deny them their liberty, and to refuse to set them out handsomely into the world.

It is an error among some too, I find, that as soon as ever a Christian turns Turk, he is emancipated, or becomes free, and so some think of Turks who become Christians, that they also are freemen; but as for those Christians who turn Turks, it is not so; for it lies wholly in the patroon's breast to dispose of them as he pleaseth.

I have known those who have continued slaves many years after they have turned Turks; nay, some even to their dying day. And many, I am sure, have been as little respected by their patroons after the changing of their religion, as, or less than, before. For my part, I remained several years a slave after my defection, suffered a great deal of cruel usage, and then was sold again.

My first patroon would, when exercising his bar-

barous cruelty upon me, press me to turn mussulman; but all this while I did not believe that he was really willing I should so do, but only he might think, that he discharged his duty in importuning me thereunto. And my reason why I thought so, is, because I knew at that time he could badly sustain such a loss; for it was not very long before that he bought a little boy of Dover, which soon renounced his holy religion, and died in some years after. This cruel man I lived with about two or three months, and then he sent me to sea in one of the ships to attend upon the *toepgee bashe*, or the head gunner. We made, as they said, but a very indifferent voyage, for we took but one ship, and that a Portuguese, with eighteen slaves. We were out about two months, to my great ease and content; but when we were returning to Algier, and I out of hopes of being re-taken for that time, my heart began to be heavy with the thoughts of entering again into my former misery: but there was no remedy but patience; into the hands of the tyrant I must fall again. But, blessed be God, within a few days he sold me, and so I was out of the possession of that inhuman wretch.

When I was selling, in the shop where I was at work, I understood nothing of the matter; but the bargain being concluded, my new patroon and two friends who were with him, went up stairs, and I followed them. My clothes were taken and packed up, and away I must go. I thought now I should have three patroons, which I was afraid would be worse than one; but a Moor who lived on the other side of the way, knowing what an

hard patroon I had, because he had often seen me beaten in the shop, bid his slave, who was an Englishman, tell me my new patroon was better than the old. This comforted me a little. My new patroon not living in Algier, took me to a friend's house of his, who kept a mistress in the house, and with her was I left. In the evening the man of the house came, with my patroon, who brought a madam with him. A taverner, at the same time, brought wine and victuals, on which they were very merry. The next morning they went out, and left me again with the woman. When the taverner, who was a Spaniard, came for his bottles, I desired him to ask her, what my patroon designed to do with me? She told him, I was bought to be made a present of to his brother at Tunis. And there, says the Spaniard, you may, perhaps, in time, be redeemed by the consul; which made me much easier than I was before.

My second patroon lived in the country, and was called by the name of *dilberre Ibrahim*, i. e. handsome Abraham, for note, that the Turks are mostly nick-named, especially those that are soldiers. If a man be blind in one eye, they call him Blind Hugh, or what his name is. If tall, Long such an one. If short, Short such an one. If in his younger days given to much drinking, *Sorhowsh*, or Drunken such an one. If black browed, then Black browed such an one; which is esteemed the greatest beauty among them, &c. Besides, this way of nick-naming, they often use another manner of distinction, calling men by the name of their country; as Exeter John, Welsh Tom, or the like.

But all this by the by. He had several slaves, both Christians and negroes; and I happened to lose a shirt, which indeed, was scarce worth looking after; and it seems one of the negroes had stolen it. I had it again, and said but little about the matter. But some time after this, I lost my jacket; whereupon I made my complaint to our patroon; he told me, he would beat all the slaves round but he would find out the thief. Upon which, one of the negro slaves stood up, and said, "Sir, there is no reason that all should suffer for "one; and therefore, if I may presume so far, "there is at Bleda, a place about three miles from "our country house, a black woman, who can, as "they say, tell fortunes, and inform people where "their lost goods are." Upon which, my patroon appointed two negroes to go with me to the said cunning woman. When we came into her house, I told her, that we came to be informed of something by her. Upon which she took a thing like adish, and put meal into it, and after she had smoothed over the meal, and made it plain, she bid me put my hand on it, and withal, to think within myself what I would be informed of. Accordingly I did, and my thought was to know where my jacket was. In two or three minutes time she told me, that I had some time before lost a white thing. I told her I had so; which I understood to be my shirt. She then assured me, that the same person who stole my shirt had stolen my jacket: which proved to be the negro aforesaid, by his own confession. I was much surprised at

this discovery, but repent of my folly in going to such a person on any such account.

This my second patroon had two brothers in Algier, and a third in Tunis. The middle brother had designed to make a voyage to Tunis, to see his brother there; and, it seems, I was bought in order to be given as a present to him. I was then clothed very fine, that I might be the better accepted. The ship being ready, we put to sea, and in about fourteen or fifteen days time we arrived at Tunis, and went forthwith to my patroon's brother's house, who had two wives, which lived each in a house distant from one another. The next day my patroon's brother's son, taking a pride to have a Christian to wait upon him, made me walk after him. I was ready and glad to do it, because I was desirous to see the city. As I was attending upon my new master through the streets, I met with a gentleman habited like a Christian, not knowing him to be an Englishman, as he was. He looked earnestly upon me, and asked me, whether I was not an Englishman? I answered him, yea. How came you hither? said he. I told him I came with my patroon. What, are you a slave? said he. I replied, yes. To what place do you belong? continued he. To Algier, quoth I. But he was not willing to enter into any further discourse with me in the public street, and therefore desired the young man on whom I waited, that he would please, at such an hour of the day, to bring me to his house, with a promise of an hearty welcome. The young man assured him he would; for being a drinker of wine,

and knowing the plenty of it in the said gentleman's house, he was the rather willing to go.

After the gentleman was gone from us, my new young master told me, that he whom we talked with was the English consul; which I was glad to hear. We went, as appointed, to the consul's house, where, when we came, I was directed up to his chamber, the young spark in the mean time being eating and drinking in another room. The consul asked me many questions about my country, parentage, &c. And withal, whether I could write, and understood arithmetic. I told him I could do both tolerably. He called for pen, ink, and paper, and bid me write a line. The words which came into my mind, I very well remember, were these, *The Lord be my guide, in him I will trust.* Which he seemed very well pleased with. Then he asked me what I thought was the inducement for my patroon to buy me. I told him, he designed me for a present to his brother here, at Tunis. Upon the whole, the consul kindly told me, if I were left in Tunis, he would order matters to my satisfaction; but if my patroon designed to carry me back again to Algier, I should acquaint him with it in season; and in the mean time, he bid me, if I had so much liberty, to come every day to his house, where I should be welcome.

After I had been in Tunis about thirty days, I understood that my patroon's brother cared not to accept of me, and that therefore I was to return to Algier. This very much troubled me; upon which I went to the consul and acquainted him with it.

The consul told me, that he and other two merchants (there being no more English merchants in the town) would the next day come and talk with my patroon about me; and that if his demands were not too high, they would purchase my redemption. And if so, says he, you must tarry two, or three years (seven said I) with me, and then you shall go home when I do. They came accordingly with their interpreter, and asked him whether he was willing to sell me. He told them he was, upon terms. They asked him what price he put upon me. He told them five hundred dollars, which was, I suppose, three hundred more than he bought me for. They offered two hundred. He made a slight of that, and laughed at them. They advanced to two hundred and fifty dollars. He still made a pish of it. They at length came up to three hundred dollars, which is near sixty pounds sterling; but my patroon plainly told them, he would not abate one *asper* i. e. about five farthings, of his demands. At which the consul told me that I must have patience, for an hundred pounds was a considerable sum to be contributed by three only, and Providence might work some other way. Upon hearing this, I burst into tears, notwithstanding, returning them a thousand thanks for their generous goodwill. The consul laid his hand on my head, and bid me serve God and be cheerful; and promised me, that as soon as he returned to England he would prefer a petition to the king for me, and so parted from me.

This worthy gentleman's name was Baker (I think Charles) brother to Thomas Baker, consul

at Algier. And here I must observe that what one brother could not bring to bear, the other several years after undertook, though he ran the greatest hazard in so doing; and was through Divine Goodness an instrument of effecting it.

My hopes were thus all dashed, which was no small trouble to me; but patience overcomes all disappointments and afflictions.

My patroon now carried me on board in order to go back again for Algier. The vessel in which we went was bound no further than Bona, which is near about half way to Algier;* so that when we came thither my patroon hired two mules, on which we came by land to Algier, which is about two hundred and fifty miles.

About two months after this, my chief patroon, being captain of a troop of horse, was sent to Tunis by land, with about twenty *spahys*, and carried me with him also; so that I was not wanting from Tunis above four months before my second coming thither. The next day after we came now to Tunis, I was sent out on an errand, and accidentally met with the worthy consul again. When he saw me, what, my boy said he, art thou come again? Yes sir, said I, I came now with my chief patroon. While you were absent, said he, I bought a young man for my purpose, for considerably less than I offered for you; but however you may tell this your

* Some years after this, when I had my freedom, and went to camp, I somewhere about this part of the country passed through a river, the water of which was so hot, I could scarce suffer it. And I was credibly informed, that a little farther up in the river the water was hot enough to boil an egg.

patroon, that if he be disposed to sell you, I will stand to my proposal. I gave him many thanks, and went immediately, and told my patroon of it; who surlily answered me, *scu le mang keu pek*, i. e. hold your peace you dog! I saw that there was no good to be done with him, and therefore desisted.

We returned back to Algier in some small time; and a little after that, he carried me into camp with him; and it so happened, that his two brothers being *spahys*, or troopers, were with him in one and the same tent. His younger brother would be frequently behind his back, and sometimes before his face, persuading me to turn Mahometan, and to gain me, made me large offers; but I little regarded them. And I can truly appeal to Almighty God, that it was not out of choice, or inclination, or persuasion, or any temporal advantage, that I became a Mahometan; for I abhorred the thoughts of such an apostasy.

The eldest brother, who was my chief patroon, I found, was not very fond of my turning; for he would often threaten me, that if I did turn Turk, and did not learn my book well, he would beat me soundly. But when his younger brother, who had been so often pampering with me, saw that no arguments nor offers would prevail, he began to lie very close to his brother to force me to turn; and as an argument, would often tell him, "that he had been a profligate and debauched man in his time, and a murderer; and that the proselyting me would be some sort of an atonement for his past impieties; and flatly told him, that otherwise he

would never go to heaven." Whereupon, as guilty men are willing to lay hold on every pretence to happiness, though never so slight and groundless, the eldest brother endeavoured to persuade me; and finding that would not do, he threatened to send me hundreds of miles off into the country, where I should never see the face of any Christian. But finding all these methods to be ineffectual to the end they drove at, the two brothers consulted together, and resolved upon cruelty and violence, to see what that would do. Accordingly, on a certain day, when my patroon's barber came to trim him, I being there to give attendance, my patroon bid me kneel down before him; which I did: he then ordered the barber to cut off my hair with his scissars; but I mistrusting somewhat of their design, struggled with them; but by stronger force my hair was cut off, and then the barber went about to shave my head, my patroon all the while holding my hands. I kept shaking my head, and he kept striking me in the face. After my head, with much ado, was shaved, my patroon would have me take off my clothes, and put on the Turkish habit. I told him plainly I would not: whereupon I was forthwith hauled away to another tent, in which we kept our provision; where were two men, viz. the cook and the steward; one of which held me, while the other stripped me, and put on me the Turkish garb. I all this while kept crying, and told my patroon, that although he had changed my habit, yet he could never change my heart. The night following, before he lay down to sleep, he called me, and bid me kneel down by

his bed-side, and then used entreaties that I would gratify him in renouncing my religion. I told him it was against my conscience, and withal desiring him to sell me, and buy another boy, who perhaps might more easily be won; but as for my part, I was afraid I should be everlastingly damned, if I complied with his request. He told me, he would pawn his soul for mine, and many other importunate expressions did he use. At length I desired him to let me go to bed, and I would pray to God, and if I found any better reasons suggested to my mind than what I had then, to turn, by the next morning, I did not know what I might do; but if I continued in the same mind I was, I desired him to say no more to me on that subject. This he agreed to, and so I went to bed. But, whatever ailed him, having not patience to stay till the morning for my answer, he awoke me in the night, and asked me what my sentiments now were. I told him they were the same as before. Then he took me by the right hand, and endeavoured to make me hold up the fore-finger, as they usually do when they speak those words, viz. *la Allah ellallah, Mohammed resul Allah*, which initiates them Turks, as I have related before, but I did with all my might bend it down, so that he saw nothing was to be done with me without violence; upon which he presently called two of his servants, and commanded them to tie up my feet with a rope to the post of the tent; and when they had so done, he with a great cudgel fell a beating of me upon my bare feet: and being a very strong man, and full of passion, his blows fell heavy indeed; and the

more he beat me, the more chafed and enraged he was; and declared, that, in short, if I would not turn, he would beat me to death. I roared out to feel the pain of his cruel strokes; but the more I cried, the more furiously he laid on; and to stop the noise of my crying, would stamp with his feet on my mouth; at which I begged him to dispatch me out of the way; but he continued beating me. After I had endured this merciless usage so long, till I was ready to faint and die under it, and saw him as mad and implacable as ever, I begged him to forbear, and I would turn. And breathing a while, but still hanging by the feet, he urged me again to speak the words. Very unwilling I was, and held him in suspense a while; and at length told him, that I could not speak them. At which he was more enraged than before, and fell at me again in a most barbarous manner. After I had received a great many blows a second time, I beseeched him again to hold his hand, and gave him fresh hopes of my turning Mahometan; and after I had taken a little more breath, I told him as before, I could not do what he desired. And thus I held him in suspense three or four times; but at last, seeing his cruelty towards me insatiable, unless I turned, through terror I did it, and spake the words as usual, holding up the fore finger of my right hand: and presently I was had away to a fire, and care was taken to heal my feet, for they were so beaten, that I was not able to go upon them for several days, and so I was put to bed.

All the ceremony that any person who turns Mahometan by compulsion useth, is only holding

up the fore finger of the right hand, and pronouncing the words before-mentioned. But when any person voluntarily turns from his religion to the Mahometan, there is a great deal of formality used. Many there are who so turn, out of choice, without any terror or severity shewn them. Sometimes in a mad, or drunken humour; sometimes to avoid the punishment due to some great crime committed by them, as murder, or the like: I speak of persons belonging to English, or other ships at anchor at Algier; such will get ashore, if possible, and often become Mahometans, being afraid to return to their own country.

Now when any person so turns Mahometan, he goes to the court, where the dey and divan, i. e. his council, sits, and there declares his willingness to be a Mahometan; upon which he is immediately accepted, without demanding of him any reason for his so doing. After which, the apostate is to get on horseback, on a stately steed, with a rich saddle, and fine trappings: he is also richly habited, and hath a turban on his head, but to be sure, not of a green colour; for none durst wear their turbans of that colour, but such as are of Mahomet's blood: but nothing of this is to be called his own; only there is given him about two or three yards of broad cloth, which is laid before him on the saddle. The horse, with him on his back, is led all round the city; and he carries an arrow in his right hand, holding it straight up, and thereby supporting the fore finger of his right hand, which he holds up against it. This he doth all the while he is riding round the city; which he is se-

veral hours in doing. But if he happen to be tired with long holding up his fore finger against the arrow, he may now and then take it off for a moment, and then up with it again in the said posture.

The apostate is attended with drums, and other music, and twenty or thirty *vekil harges*, or stewards, who, as I told you, are under the *otho bashes*, or serjeants. These march in order on each side of the horse, with naked swords in their hands, intimating thereby, as I was informed, that if he should repent, and shew the least inclination of retracting what he had declared before the dey and divan, he deserved to be cut in pieces; and the *vekil harges* would accordingly do it. There are likewise two persons who stand one on each side of the street, as he marcheth through, to gather what people are pleased to give, by way of encouragement, to the new convert, as they call him, and it may be, one here and there drops a farthing or halfpenny; it is much if any be so zealous as to give a penny. After this show and ceremony is over, he is immediately entered into pay, and directed to the place where he shall quarter, with some of his fellow-soldiers. And within a few days the *seunet gee* of the town, i. e. the circumciser, comes and performs the ceremony of circumcision. And then he is a Turk to all intents and purposes. It is reported by some, that when any thus voluntarily turn Mahometan, he throws a dart at the picture of Jesus Christ, in token of his disowning him as the saviour of the world, and preferring Mahomet to him: but there is no such usage; and they who relate such things, deceive

the world. I am sure I have reason (God pardon me!) to know every thing in use among them of this nature; and I assure the reader there is never any such thing done.

The cryer goes before, with a loud voice giving thanks to God, for the proselyte that is made; and at some particular places of the city, especially in the *cashurees*, or the places were many of the soldiers dwell together, the multitude hold up their hands, giving thanks to God.

I was very much concerned for one of our countrymen, who had endured many years of slavery, and after he was ransomed, went home to his own country; but came again to Algier, and voluntarily, without the least force used towards him, became a Mahometan.

Another Englishman I knew, bred to the trade of a gun-smith, who after he was ransomed, and only waited for his passage, renegadoed, and chose rather to be a Mahometan, than to return to England.

About two or three months, as near as I can guess, after I was taken a slave, I writ a letter to my father, giving him an account of what had happened; to which I received a kind and affectionate answer. A copy of the letter I have not by me, but I well remember that therein he gave me very good counsel, viz. "To have a care and keep close to God, and to be sure never, by any methods of cruelty that could be used towards me, be prevailed with to deny my blessed Saviour: and that he had rather hear of my death, than of my being a Mahometan." But this first letter from my father came not to my hands till some days after I

had, through my patroon's barbarity to me, turned from my religion. Which after (through extreme torture, and out of love to a temporal life) I had done, I became very sad, and melancholy, considering the danger my poor soul was in. The said letter was taken up in Algier by my master George Taylor of Lymson, who sent it to the camp, directing it to an English lad, one of the bey's or general's slaves; who being afraid to deliver me the letter openly, slid it into my hand as he past by me. As soon as I cast my eye upon the superscription, I knew it to be my father's hand, and in a great deal of sorrow, made what haste I could out of the camp (pretending to go to ease myself) to read the letter; but when I had opened it, could scarce read a word for weeping. And I am apt to think, that if the letter had come to my hands before I had turned Turk, my patroon would rather have accepted of the promised ransom for me, than that I should become a Mahometan.

After I had read some part of the letter (for I could not read it through at once, for fear my patroon should find me wanting,) I was ready to sink. I put it up therefore, intending to read the whole another time, and returned to our tent, with a more dejected heart and countenance than before; insomuch that my patroon perceiving it, asked me whether I had been weeping? I replied, sir, you do not see me weep. Many other angry words he had with me; and at length truly my heart was so big, that I could not contain any longer, but fell into tears, and at the same time produced him the letter which I received from my father, and told

him that my father would ransom me; and withal added, I am no Turk, but a Christian. My patroon answered me with, hold your tongue, you dog, for if you speak such a word again, I will have a great fire made, and therein burn thee immediately. At which I was forced to be silent.

In two or three days after this, I writ my father a second letter, (which I was forced to do by piece meals, in a great deal of danger, and fear) in which I gave him a perfect account of the whole matter, and told him the naked truth, lest he should have thought what I did, had been voluntarily, and without any coercion. And in order thereunto, I privately desired the aforesaid English lad, a servant to the bey, to lend me pen, ink, and paper; and took an occasion to go on the outside of the camp, and there in fear writ two or three lines at a time, as I could, without discovery, till I had finished my epistle.

The substance of my letter was, "that though I was forced by the cruelty which was exercised upon me, to turn Turk, yet I was really a Christian in my heart; (some may term me hypocrite for so doing, but I will not reply any more, than this, that I speak it not to extenuate my sin, but to set the matter in a true light, how I turned, and the reasons of my so doing,) and withal, I assured my father and mother, that I would, as soon as ever I could find an opportunity, endeavour to make my escape: and therefore entreated them to be as contented as they could under their great affliction, and expect what time would produce."

Some time after my father received this my se-

cond letter, he sent me another, which was directed as the former, to my master Taylor in Algier: and he sent it forward, directing it to an Englishman at Bleda, where I then lived, of whom I received it; and I look upon it as a signal providence, for there was but that one Englishman then living in the town. The substance of the letter was as followeth, viz.

"Yet I cannot choose but call thee dear and loving son, although thou hast denied thy Redeemer that bought thee; especially, considering the tenderness of thy age, the cruelty of thy usage, and the strength of thy temptations. I confess, when I first heard of it, I thought it would have overwhelmed my spirits; and had it not been for divine supporters, it had been a burden too unsupportable for my weak shoulders to have crippled under; especially considering the loss of thy soul."

But withal, my father in his letter comforted me, with telling me, that he had been with several ministers, who unanimously concurred in their opinion, that I had not sinned the unpardonable sin. Their names were, Mr. Hopping, Mr. Collings, and Mr. Hallet, who were ministers in Exeter. The last advised my father to write to me. Said my Father, I shall write very smart if I do. The good man replied, by no means, but write as tenderly as possible, otherwise you will spoil all; and give him all the encouragement you can. My father followed his advice, and therefore went on as follows:

"Truly, child, I do believe, that what thou hast

done with thy mouth, was not with thy heart; and that it was contrary to thy conscience. Take heed of being hardened in thine iniquity; give not way to despondency, nor to desperation. Remember, that Peter had not so many temptations to deny his Lord and master, as thou hast had, and yet he obtained mercy; and so mayest thou. Yet the door of grace and mercy is open for thee. I can hardly write to thee for weeping, and my time is but short; and what shall I say to thee more, my poor child? I will pawn the loss of my soul, upon the salvation of thine, that if thou dost but duly and daily repent of this thy horrid iniquity, the blood of that Jesus whom thou hast denied, will cleanse thee from it, and there is sufficient satisfaction in him to save thee to the utmost, or otherwise let me perish. I will promise thee as welcome to me upon thy return and repentance, as though thou hadst never done it. And if there be such bowels of pity in an earthly parent, which are but as drops, to the ocean, what dost thou think of the boundless mercies of God, whose compassions are like to himself, infinite? I confess, it is something difficult for thee to make thy escape, but yet I am confident, that if thou dost keep close to God, notwithstanding this thy miscarriage, infinite wisdom and power will be set at work to find out ways, in such untrodden paths, as I cannot imagine, for thy relief. Which is the daily prayers of thy

Affectionate Father,

JOHN PITTS."

It pleased God that this my father's second letter, though cause of many sorrowful reflections in me, did yet administer great support and comfort to me; and I would often go into some bye corner or other, under some hedge of a garden, to read it.

The reader may easily think, that one under my circumstances, could have but very few opportunities of writing home to his parents and friends; which was the reason why I writ no oftener.

In my return from Mecca to Algier, at Alexandria, I accidentally met with John Cleak of Lymson, who belonged to captain Bear's ship of Topsham, as I related to you before, in whom, being my old acquaintance, I could put confidence; and so desired him to carry a letter for me, which he readily granted. But since I came home to Exon, the said Cleak told me, that he was under great fear and concern, lest the Turks' officers on board, (who are much like our tidesmen) should, when searching their chests, &c. find the letter in his custody; to prevent which, he hung it in the inside the ceiling of the ship. The reader will excuse my not dating the letter, when I tell him, that truly I had then forgot the month of the year, because the Turks reckon after a different manner from us; and I did not only omit the date of the letter, but sent it also unsealed; as the manner of sending letters is there: for indeed, they are very illiterate, not one in an hundred being able to read; and therefore they run no great risk in sending their letters unsealed.

Honoured, and dear Father and Mother,

It is not the want of duty or love, which makes me negligent of writing to you, but it is chiefly the consideration of the little comfort you can take in hearing from me, having been a great grief, and heart-breaking to you.

Dear father and mother, how often have I wished that I had departed the world when I hung upon your breasts, that I might not have been the bringer of your gray hairs with sorrow to the ground. Therefore, if you would be an ease to my grief, I desire you to wait God's leisure.

Your grief, though great, is but little in comparison of mine. Put it to the worst, you have lost but a son; but I, for my part, have lost both a dear father and mother, brothers, relations, friends, acquaintance, and all! But my greatest sorrow is, that God hath deprived me of his holy scriptures, of any good counsel or discourse; for I see nothing but wickedness before mine eyes.

The Lord of Heaven reward you for your endeavours to bring me up in the ways of Jesus Christ; for the bad improvement of which privilege, I now here find and suffer the want of it. I am in great fears, and great hazards do I run, in writing these few lines. About fourteen months I have been wanting from Algier, for I have been with my patroon to Mecca, where is, they say, the house of God; and after they have been to pay their devotions thither, they do account that all their sins are forgiven.

Mecca is about forty days travel beyond Grand Cairo; being now therefore in my way back again

to Algier, as far as Alexandria, I embrace this opportunity of sending to you from hence. With my kind love to all my brothers, relations, friends, and neighbours, desiring yours, and the prayers of all good people to God for me, I rest

Your dutiful son, till death,

JOSEPH PITTS.

I lived still a miserable life with this my second patroon, and was oftentimes so beaten by him, that my blood ran down upon the ground. After I had thus turned Turk, he had rather less kindness for me than before; and one reason was, because he thought that I was no true Mussulman in my heart; for he observed me to be far from being zealous in the Mahometan way. And I must declare, that oftentimes I would go to mosque without ever taking *abdes* at all; which none of the thorough paced Mahometans would do, might they gain ever so much. For which I fared, many ways, much worse than my fellow slaves, which had not turned; and did lie with them in a stable, and also eat with them. And indeed, our victuals were very coarse and ordinary, viz. mostly barley bread with sour milk. But if a sheep did chance to die, the flesh would come for our share, and many joyful and hearty good meals should we make of it.

I remember there was a tame young hog in the village where we lived, once happened to fall foul of a milk-pan full of milk; for which it soon lost its life. My fellow slaves hearing it was dead, presently took and carried it into the field, where they made a fire, burnt off its hair, and then boil-

ed it. When they had eat their allowance for supper, down came the second course, viz. the boiled hog, on which they fared sumptuously, desiring me to take part with them. I envied them their dainties, but durst not taste, lest it should have been discovered, and cost me my life. After they had enjoyed themselves on this noble dish, what remained was set by for another time. The next day, when they were all gone to their work in the vineyards, I had an opportunity to see how I liked it, and fed on it very heartily. In the evening they had their second course again, but finding that a good part of it was gone, they fell a taxing each other, for it was no small disappointment to them all: but none of them did in the least suspect me.

This my patroon was a married man, and being wanting about fourteen months from his wife, upon a stretch, in that interval she was delivered of bastard twins; so he turned her away, and in a little time married another, who was a great fortune to him. Having now got great riches, and being a man full of ambition, he had a great tooth for the dey-ship of Algier; and to compass his design, had (by large promises of promoting them) corrupted many among the soldiers, who declared they were resolved to stand by him. The dey, whose name was Hassan, whom they also called *baba* Hassan, i. e. father Hassan, having had some private information of this my patroon's design, banished him. Now the way of banishment is thus, viz. the cryer cries it about the town, and proclaims the person to be banished, promising a

great reward to any who shall discover him from that time.

My patroon, notwithstanding, left not his country, nor his country house, but kept himself very private all day, and lay in the fields by night, with me, and others of his slaves. At length search was made for him, and his two brothers, and the troopers would come sometimes and beset his country house, to take him. Finding himself no longer safe in those parts, he betook himself to the mountains of the Cabyles, a rugged sort of people. I, with two or three more of his slaves, and his two brothers, were with him in the mountains, where, by his plausible tongue, he at length got into the favour and esteem of the Cabyles; so that they resolved to stand by him.

Now it happened, that at this very juncture, the French came and bombarded Algier, because their demands of the French slaves there were not answered. Upon which, all being in great confusion by the bombs, the dey's wife set herself to persuade her husband to release her slaves; he was accordingly prevailed upon, and yielded them up to the French, then before the town. At which the soldiers began to express their dissatisfaction, that he had not consulted with them about it, and were somewhat turbulent, saying one among another, we are brought to a brave pass now, to become tributary to the French! And in a little time the jealousies against him grew so high, that they slew him in the night-time without the Mole-gate.

A third time the French came, with a squadron under the command of *Mareschal d'Estree*, who

fired 10,000 bombs into the town, as also abundance of carcasses, which are fired as a bomb is; but a bomb is filled only with powder, whereas these are filled with several combustibles, and have holes all round, and in every hole something like the barrel of a pistol, laden with several shot. These break not all at once, as the bombs; and were designed for the ships that were in the mole, but they did no great execution upon them: for, to the best of my remembrance, they lost not one privateer, only some prizes which lay then in the harbour; the Algerines having themselves sunk their privateers before the French began to fire their bombs.

It is true, the city was so much beaten down, that you could not distinguish one street or lane from another, and it was several years before the damage was quite repaired. The French fleet anchored out of gun-shot of the town, but the bomb-vessels were within shot, at which the Turks plied their cannon very briskly. But they saw no good was to be done, for the shot could not pierce the sides of the French ships, but fell into the sea. The French therefore were in no fear of their cannon; and the Turks, at length, thought it their wisest way to save their ammunition.

However, to show their valour, they resolved to fit out a galley to attack the bomb-vessels; and for encouragement, promised to advance the pay to such as would be volunteers: so that she was soon very well manned. The galley-slaves being on board, and chained to their oars, away they

towed by night. Now, though there was a considerable distance between the French fleet and their bomb-vessels, yet they had hawsers which reached from one to the other, being fastened to each: but this was more than the Algerines knew. When the galley attacked one of the bomb-vessels, the French gave them a warm reception with their hand-granades, which falling into the galley, did great execution; for there were about two hundred slaves chained, and near as many Turks on board. The poor slaves begged the French to take pity on them, which made them fire the less. While they were thus hotly engaged, the galley having grappled the bomb-vessel, the French fleet being apprehensive of what was doing, fell a pulling the hawser, which insensibly drew both of them towards them. But when the Turks perceived how near they were to the French fleet, they at once cut their fasts, and scowered back for the town as fast as they could. I thought it a very melancholy sight, in the morning, to see so many slaves and Turks killed and wounded.

There were, as I remember, nine bomb-vessels, each having two mortars, which kept firing day and night, insomuch that there would be five or six bombs flying in the air at once, which was a terrible sight. At this the Algerines were horribly enraged, and to be revenged, fired away from the mouth of their cannon about forty French slaves: and finding that would not do, but *d'Estree* was rather the more exasperated, they sent for the French consul, intending to serve him the same sauce. He pleaded his character, and that he

hoped they would not use a person of his post and figure so barbarously: that it was against the law of nations, &c. They answered, they were resolved, and all these compliments would not serve his turn. At which he desired a day or two's respite, till he could dispatch a letter to the admiral; which was granted him, and a boat was sent out with a white flag. But after the admiral had perused and considered the consul's letter, he bid the messenger return this answer, viz, "that his commission was to throw 10,000 bombs into the town, and he would do it to the very last; and that, as for the consul, if he died, he could not die better than for his prince." This was bad news, you may imagine, to the consul, and highly provoked the Algerines, who immediately, upon this message, caused the consul to be brought down, and placed him before the mouth of a cannon, and fired him off also. This was very dreadful to behold.

The French, to make some returns for the Algerines firing off their consul, slaves, and an ancient priest, took this method, viz. they made a stage of three or four deal boards, when the wind blew towards the shore, and fastened some Turks or Moors on it, firing at them till they were dead. In a little time the wind would drive the stage ashore with the dead Turks, which was a dismal spectacle indeed.

The French bombarded Algier three times while I was there: the first time, as I remember, was because the Turks would not yield up the French slaves which they had. They then threw but few

bombs into the town, and that by night; nevertheless, the inhabitants were so surprised and terrified at it, being unacquainted with bombs, that they threw open the gates of the city, and men, women, and children left the town; whereupon, the French had their countrymen, who were slaves, for nothing. A little after they came again to Algier upon other demands, when, as I have related, by the persuasion of his wife, the dey surrendered up all the French slaves; which proved his ruin. And then, as I have also told, they came a third time, and fired many thousands of bombs into the town: notwithstanding the dey stood his ground, and would not yield up one slave without an equivalent; so that the French brought ashore thirty or forty Turks, or Moors, in their boat, and had as many of their own countrymen, that were slaves, in exchange for them. But to return to the story of my patroon.

Immediately upon the death of Baba Hassan, some of my patroon's friends took horse, and came post haste to acquaint him of this seemingly favourable event. He instantly equips for Algier, which being a day's journey, there was a new dey elected before he could get thither; whereas, if he could have come sooner than he did, it was the general notion that he would have been dey. However, though he came too late to be dey, all former matters were accommodated, and he, in all appearance, in favour with the present dey. But in a few days this dey became incensed against him; whereupon he was a second time banished.

My patroon, at this being very much puzzled

what to do, or where to go, at length went to a *marabbot*, to crave his advice, what he was best to do in this exigence. The *marabbot* told him, "that he should distribute fifty dollars to the poor, kill four sheep, and give to them; and after he had so done, go back to Algier, not doubting success in his enterprizes there." He took his leave of the *marabbot*, having received of him his old patched cloak, which he looked on as a mighty preservative from all manner of danger; and, according to the *marabbot*'s advice, he, with his two brothers, and two other Turks of their acquaintance, being well armed with small arms under their cloaks, mounted their horses, and posted to Algier; and were at the gate as soon almost as it was open. They left their horses at the gate, and went directly to the house where the dey sat with the divan, or council. At the gate of the dey's house the aga, with other officers, sits, and there usually complaints are made. To him, therefore, my patroon makes his complaint, telling him, that he was not conscious of any harm that he had done against the government, that therefore he was unjustly banished; and that if there could any thing be proved against him that deserved it, he was come, presently ready to suffer death. The aga having received his complaint, sends for one of the seven *chiauxes*, or *chiaous*, who are equal to our serjeants, and bid him go in and acquaint the dey with it. When the dey heard they were without, he immediately ordered the *chiauxes* to apprehend them, for fear what the consequence of any delays might prove. The *chiauxes*, there-

fore, running upon them to seize them, my patroon and his company drew their swords, and defied them; at which the *chiauxes* were afraid, and fell back, and my patroon and his accomplices made to a *casherea*, i. e. a sort of a guard-house, where were many soldiers, and with large promises engaged them to stand by him: and so they shut the gate of the *casherea*, making it a sort of garrison. But in a little time the town was up in arms, and the soldiers beset the place, and demanded the gate to be opened: which was done, and my patroon with his forlorn were seized, and they had all their heads cut off.

Thus my patroon miscarried in a seemingly rash attempt: though it was certainly the general opinion, that if, instead of complaining to the aga, he had gone directly into the room where the dey was, as he might, and had killed him, he would infallibly have obtained his end. But it was best for me as it was, for if my patroon had succeeded, because he always found me honest, he designed to make me his secretary or treasurer, which might have proved a snare to me, and made me have had less inclinations to return home.

The next day after this tragedy, the soldiers were sent out to his country-house, and all he had was seized on, and brought to Algier; and I was called before the dey to witness what I could; but he only asked me, whether my patroon had any children? I told him yes; whereupon all his seized goods were restored again for the good of his family, who were now making most dismal lamentations, those of the male sex not shaving their

heads for near the space of two months; which with them is a token of extraordinary mourning.

I was in hopes that my patroona, or mistress, would now have given me my freedom: but she would not, and intended to sell me there in the country; and if so, I had, in all probability, been a slave as long as I lived; for I do not see how I could possibly have made my escape. I therefore earnestly desired that I might be sold in Algier, which at length she granted; and according to custom, I was carried three days, by the crier, about the streets, and was bought the third time by an old batchelor. My work with him was to look after his house, dress his meat, wash the clothes; and in short, to do all those things that are looked on as a servant-maid's work in England.

I must own, I wanted nothing with him; meat, drink, clothes, and money, I had enough. After I had lived with him about a year he made his pilgrimage to Mecca, and carried me with him; but before we came to Alexandria he was taken sick, and thinking verily he should die, having a woven girdle about his middle, under his sash, which they usually wear, in which was much gold, and also my letter of freedom, which he intended to give me when at Mecca, he took it off, and bid me put it on about me, and took my girdle and put it on himself; and withal told me, that if he died on the way, I should be sure to perform the *alhage*, or *el hagge*, i. e. the pilgrimage to Mecca, in order to obtain the honourable title of *hagge;* not doubting, but that there would be sufficient care besides taken to bear my charges. He meant

that the Algerine *hagges*, who were going with us to Mecca would have paid my expenses thither, and back again to Algier, out of his cash. For you must observe, that when any Algerine Turks die without children, whether at home or abroad, their effects are carefully secured, and returned into the bank for the public use. This was argument enough how much he loved me. But it pleased God that he recovered; and one thing I observed in him was, that though he was before a great smoker of tobacco, after that sickness he never smoked at all; which was looked on as a token of his repentance: for though abundance of tobacco be smoked among the Turks, yet it is accounted a sin.

A little before I went to Mecca, being newly come to this my last patroon, we lived in a court, or *funduck*, as they term it, where lived none but batchelors, and every one had his slave to do the like service with him, as I did with my patroon: among these slaves there was one James Grey, an Englishman of Weymouth, with whom I became very intimate, insomuch that I communicated my greatest secrets to him, and particularly how I came to turn Mahometan, and how uneasy I was upon it; and withal, that I had thoughts of going to the dey, and telling him that I was forced to turn; and, that I hoped he would let me be at my choice, for I would be no Mahometan; and desired this Grey's opinion, whether I were best so to do. He answered, I should by no means do it, for it would make the worse for me, and endanger my life. He told me also, that it would

not be long before my patroon would go to Mecca, and there, in all likelihood, give me my liberty; and after that, I might find some way or other to escape. Well, I hearkened to his advice, but afterwards had cause to repent of making him so much my confidant; for when I returned from Mecca to Algier, I found this James Grey himself very much inclined to turn Mahometan. I was with my heart willing to discourage him from it, and to lay the horrid evil before him, but was afraid lest he should betray me. One day particularly, he came and asked my advice, whether he was best to turn or not. I thought him perfidious, and therefore told him, he should use his own mind, I would use no arguments with him *pro* or *con;* for, said I, if I should persuade you to turn, and your patroon should not be so kind to you as you expect, viz. to give you your liberty, then you would lay the blame on me. But in a little time this Grey did turn Turk, and that without the least temptation, his patroon no way desiring him so to do. I guessed him to be about thirty years of age when he turned.

About a year afterwards his patroon gave him his liberty, and he entered into pay. He became very diligent in learning to read the alcoran, and very forward to perform *sallah,* so that he was looked on as a zealot. He would often correct me for my backwardness to go to mosque, and for my intimacy with the neighbouring slaves; and I was afraid to oppose or contradict him in any thing.

But it pleased God, that in a little time this Grey died, and that in a very dismal manner; for

he pined away after a strange rate, and before his death became a very miserable object indeed. And I cannot say that I was very sorry for his death.

I suppose this Grey had some expectations of great matters, which made him turn; but he found himself disappointed. I am sure it was not from any such inducements that I became a Mahometan, but through my patroon's cruel and merciless usage; and yet I fared rather worse with him than before; though sometimes they shew themselves partial enough to those of the Mahometan religion with themselves; an instance of which I shall not easily forget, viz.

While I was in Algier there were two negro slaves belonging to a Tagaren, or Andalusian, one of which was a Mahometan, and the other a Portuguese, and a Christian. It seems that these two slaves, while they were at their work in their patroon's garden, having some old grudge, conspired to take away his life, and rob him of his money. Accordingly on a certain day, understanding that their patroon was to go to Algier with a considerable sum of money with him, and most of it in gold, they waylayed him, and murdered him.

This barbarous act was not presently discovered; but at length these negroes, forsooth, must go and enjoy themselves, and in order thereunto went to the money changers, to change some pieces of gold; by which means they were suspected and apprehended, and upon a strict examination into the matter, were found guilty, and both executed. He that was a mussulman had a great deal more

favour shewn him than the other, for he was fairly hanged; the manner of which, in Algier, is thus, viz. they have an hole made in a wall, just up to the top, through which one end of the rope is put, and fastened on the other side of the wall, and the other about the criminal's neck, he sitting upon the wall; and after he hath spoken what he will, he is pushed off the top of the wall, and so is hanged.

But the poor Portuguese was stripped naked to the middle, and had his hands tied behind him, and a hole made in the heel of each hand, into which were put wax candles burning; the same was done in both his shoulders; and in this manner was he led along the streets with the crier of the town before him, publishing his crime. I thought they intended to have burned him alive, and therefore went without the gate to see him executed; but they cut off his head first, and then burned his body to ashes.

There was a Spaniard killed a Moor, and was therefore condemned to be burned; but to escape the fire, if not save his life, he turned Mahometan. But this would not save his life; however, it gained him the favour, instead of being burned, to be pushed off the wall at the gate *bab el zoon*, which is the common place of execution.

The Turks and renegadoes of Algier have the privilege above the *cull ougles* (that is, the sons of the *yenesherres*, *janizaries*, or soldiers) of being aga, or colonel, which none of the said *cull ougles* can be; for when any one of them becomes a kaya, which is under the aga, and, as we may call it, a

lieutenant, he is forthwith made mazel-aga, i. e. one who hath gone through all his offices, and has his pay brought to his hand, not being in the least obliged to perform any duty, and so can advance no further. And the reason of this difference made between the Turks, renegadoes, and the *cull ougles*, is this, viz.

Some scores of years past, the abovesaid *cull ougles* had conspired together to murder the Algerine Turks in general; which was a dreadful design, but it took no effect, and many of the *cull ougles* lost their lives; great heaps of whose heads are at this day to be seen on the walls of Algier, over the gate *bab el zoon*, or eastern gate. Notwithstanding the *cull ougles* will, upon the least provocation, twit the renegadoes, with words like these, *Eir youle bullersen cathersen*, i. e. *thou wouldst run away if thou knewest how.* And at other times they will jeer them with, *domas cate, the hoe dishing dader*, i. e. there is yet swine's flesh in thy teeth, (meaning they have still a tang of Christianity) and especially, when any renegado runs away, the rest shall be thus jeered by them.

And now I am speaking of renegadoes running away, I cannot well omit this story, which is not foreign to the matter in hand.

Ibrahim Hogea, the dey of Algier, had several Christian slaves, and also several renegadoes, and he would distinguish the renegadoes, and prefer them when any thing offered; and particularly, I remember there was a Spaniard renegado, whom I knew, which the dey had preferred to be a captain of a privateer. This renegado, after he had

made two or three voyages, had got together on board him a parcel of renegadoes, who were entirely devoted to his will, and would comply with any thing he proposed to them. It happened that coming near Tittewan, a Moors town, near the Straights-mouth, they sent, as usual, their boat ashore to take in wood for their cruising voyage. The Turks were all willing to go ashore, and did so; whereupon the renegadoes being all agreed, as soon as the boat was gone ashore, hoisted up their sails, and stood over for the Spanish shore, where, in a few hours, they safely arrived, and there they sold ships and slaves, and re-embraced their former religion. This did not a little nettle the Turks, and therefore they would cast it in the teeth of almost every renegado they met; but my patroon would not open his mouth against me, unless when in a passion; but would speak, upon occasion, in my behalf, saying, *ben ebn, ouglanem eumra catch mes*, i. e. my son will never run away. He seldom called me any thing but son, and bought a Dutch boy to do the work of the house, who attended upon me, and obeyed my orders, as much as his. Many times, after dinner, when the boy asked him what he should dress for supper, he would bid him ask me. He desired me to mind my reading, in which I made a considerable proficiency; and would have me also learn to write; and understanding something of writing, I could strike the Turkish character beyond their expectation; and all in the school admired me for it. But I began to consider with myself, that I should soon be master of writing, as well as a pretty good accountant, and my

patroon being related to the dey, could easily get me promoted, as such usually are; and for this very reason I laid aside my writing, fearing what the consequence might be. I often saw several bags of his money, a great part of which he said he would leave me. He would say to me, though I was never married myself, yet you shall in a little time, and then your children shall be mine. An offer was made me of that nature, but, I bless God, it was no temptation to me. Had I been prevailed with to alter my condition there, I tremble to think what the issue might have been. Many more kindnesses, of this my last patroon, I could relate; for which I cannot but say, I had a great love for him, even as a father. But still this was not England, and I wanted to be at home. The manner of my escape, I suppose, will be entertaining to the reader; and therefore I shall give an account of it in the next chapter.

CHAP. X.

An account of the author's escape at Smyrna. Of his being robbed: and many other occurrences on his journey home to Exeter.

BEING now at liberty from my patroon who gave me my letter of freedom at Mecca, and entered into pay, but living still with him, because he had a great kindness for me, not doubting that I was a true mussulman, I was of the mind to use the seas, and did two or three voyages, hoping to

be re-taken, or some way or other to make my escape; but Providence did not order it that way.

It happened, at length, that there came a messenger from the grand Turk to Algier, to bespeak some of the Algerines' ships to assist him; which was granted. I was in good hopes it would fall to my lot to go in one of the ships, intending, if I could, to make my escape at Smyrna; but it fell to my turn to go to the camp that year. However, I made an exchange with one, who agreed to go in my room to the camp, and I was to go in his room in the ship, which I was earnestly desirous of, because I was acquainted with one Mr. Butler, who was a merchant in Algier, and lived with the consul, who, as it will hereafter appear, was my great friend in facilitating my escape. In order to give you an account of which, it will be convenient to inform you how I came acquainted with that honest and worthy gentleman, Mr. Butler.

Some few months before I came away from Algier, I was afflicted with a very sore eye, insomuch that I was in danger of losing my sight; and understanding that there was an English doctor, a slave, for whom, I knew, Mr. Butler had a kindness, and paid his patroon so much a month, whom he had taken into his house, I went to Mr. Butler's to advise with the said doctor for a cure of my eye. He undertook it, and so I usually went twice or thrice a day to his house; where sometimes I would take a bible into my hand and read, for I thought myself out of danger of any Turks seeing me. It happened, that once Mr. Butler came in while I was reading the bible; he seemed to won-

der at it, and asked me, why I did so? (for he knew that it was very dangerous for persons under my circumstances to do it) I answered him, I had no hatred to the bible; which was the most I durst say for that time; but by frequent coming to his house, to be dressed by the doctor, in a little time I grew better acquainted with him, insomuch that he invited me, one day, to dine with him. I did, and then he told me, that if I would dine with him the next day, he would entertain me with a curious dish, a (great rarity indeed in that country) which was, as I remember, a piece of bacon, with other things. He did this, I suppose, to try me, whether I would eat swines' flesh, or not, (for the Mahometans strictly abstain from it; nay, they have such an aversion to it, that if any chance to kill a wild pig, for tame they have very few, they look on the merit of it to be almost equivalent to the killing a Christian in fight) that he might be confirmed in his opinion of me; for he truly suspected that I was no real Turk. Nevertheless, I refused to eat of it, fearing what the event of eating might prove.

But at length, once being made merry by him, he told me, that he wondered why I would tarry here in this country; and said, he wished that I were in England. I smiled, but withal, desired him to forbear such discourse. But still, every now and then, he would drop a word or two about the same matter, and at length went so far as to assure me, that if I were resolved to make my escape, he would assist me all that lay in his power. To which I replied, Sir, shall I be plain with you?

Prithee be, said he, and I will be your bosom friend. This engaged me to open my sentiments to him, and I freely told him, that I once little thought of being in this condition; and while I was in it, was never in the least inclined to Mahometanism, but it was through the cruel usage I suffered at their hands, that I was forced to do what I did; a particular account of which I gave him, which made him sympathize with me; and not only did he do that, but projected a way for my escape also; which was this, viz. that when our English men of war came to Algier to renew the peace, which they usually did once in two or three years, he did not doubt but to get me safe on board one of them. But I did not approve of that way, acknowledging, notwithstanding, all obligations to the gentleman for his kind proposal. I told him I had thought of another way, which I imagined might be more feasible, viz. that I was going with the ships of Algier up to the Levant, and that then I designed, if possible, to make my escape; and that, if he could do me any good that way, I should be very thankful to him. He answered me, that he would acquaint Mr. Baker, the consul in Algier, with it, and confer with him about it.

When the time came, that within a few days we were to sail, I went and asked of him, whether he had been pleased to acquaint the consul with my business? He told me he had, and desired me to walk out to the consul's garden, about a mile from Algier, where he kept his summer seat. There

happened to be one John Thomas of Bristol there, whom I had a long time before let into my secrets. He was just then redeemed, only waited for his passage; and having some business with the consul, we went together. I had never the honour before of being known to the consul. When I came before him, I asked him, whether Mr. Butler had told him any thing concerning me? He said he had, and made me very welcome. After I had been there some time, he discoursed me at large about my intended escape, and upon the whole, finding me to be real in the matter, (for if I had been otherwise, so as to discover any thing of what passed between us, it would infallibly have cost him his life, and therefore he sifted me narrowly,) he told me, that he would give me a letter of recommendation to Mr. Raye, who was then the English consul in Smyrna: he drew up one accordingly, in which he requested him to assist me in my design; for he read it to me before he sealed it; and charged me to keep it very safe; and if at any time before my getting to Smyrna, I should be sick, or any way in danger of death, or discovery, I should convey it overboard, for his safety. Upon which, I thankfully took my leave of him; this being the only time of my having any discourse with him.

Having sailed about thirty days on our voyage towards Smyrna, where I designed to make my escape, and being a little off of one part of the Morea, we espied seven or eight Venetian gallies at anchor under the shore. The Turks had a great tooth for these gallies, but knew not how to come at them,

not being able to adventure so far as they safely may. At length they consulted, being fifteen ships in number, to hoist up French colours, if peradventure any of them might be decoyed out; having done this, we hauled up our sails and brought to, pretending as if we were desirous of some news from the Levant. They at this thinking we were French men of war, sent out two of their gallies; upon which the Turks were ordered to lie close, and not to stir, for fear of shewing their turbans; and those officers, or others, who were obliged to be moving, took off their turbans to avoid discovery, and put on a hat, or cap, instead of them; but the slaves were all ordered to be upon deck to colour the matter, and make us look more like Christians. At length one of the gallies being within musket-shot, we fired upon him, and soon made him strike. The other seeing that, who was also under gun-shot, turns and rows with all his might and main to get ashore; the Algerines all the while making what sail they could after him, but it was in vain, for the Venetian got clear, the wind being off the shore just in our mouth. In that galley which we took, there were near four hundred Christians, and some few Turks, who were slaves.

The Turks, to shew what an exploit they had done in taking this vessel, took the trouble to tow the prize up to Turkey, where they were received with an universal *housh-galding*, i. e. welcome.

When we came to Scio, we were met and joined with ten sail of the grand Turks' ships, carrying seventy or eighty brass cannon guns each: and

being now twenty-five in number, we had the courage to cruise about the islands of the Archipelago; which looks in them a pretty bold attempt, though it be in their own country. For it was but a year or two before this, that thirteen sail of the Venetians, with one fire-ship, put thirty of their ships to flight, some being of Tripoli, some of Tunis, and some of the grand Turks' ships, together with thirty Turkish gallies; which run some into one harbour, some into another, as they could.

But now, as I said, five and twenty sail, as we were cruising, we espied a ship at an anchor, at the leeward of an island, who suspecting what we were, slipt his cable and made all the sail he could to fly from us. But being to the windward of us, and coming clear of the island, the wind was very hard, insomuch that his main mast was carried by the board, whereupon he was forced to bear away before the wind, and so must unavoidably fall in amongst us. Notwithstanding, he was resolved to fight his way through, and held it stoutly a considerable time; but unhappily for him, his fore-topmast, by a shot, was carried by the board also; and so being disabled, he was forced to yield; but politicly yielded by the side of the Algerine admiral, choosing rather to be carried to Algier than to Constantinople; for he well knew that at the latter place no money would prevail for his ransom, as it would at the former. But after a long contest between the two admirals, who should have the captain of this prize, the admiral of the grand Turks had him, rendering the Algerine admiral many of the taken slaves in lieu of him, and car-

ried him to Constantinople, whence he was never to be redeemed. This captain was a Leghornese, and styled Captain Paul, whose name rung among them; for he had been in his time a great plague to them, both by sea and land. His ship carried about forty guns, and an hundred men. But though he had been such a scourge to them, for many years, yet the slaves which were at any time taken by him were kindly treated: insomuch, that when he came to an anchor at some places, the inhabitants would bring him fruits and wine, &c. on board, as presents; especially in the island called Eustanchue, or Long Island, near Scio.

In this island, and in the principal town thereof by the way, is a tree of a prodigious bigness, so large, that I question whether there be another like it for bigness in the whole world. Under which are several coffee-houses, barbers' shops, and other shops; and several fountains of water, wherewith to take *abdes;* and if I mistake not, there are five and thirty, or seven and thirty pillars, some of which are marble, and some of timber, to support the branches thereof. This tree is famous, to a proverb, all over Turkey.

Some time after we arrived at Scio, an island, since taken by the Venetians, inhabited by the Greeks, but governed by the Turks, about fifteen leagues on this side Smyrna; the Turks had liberty, for one month's time, to go home to visit the respective places of their nativity.

I went to Smyrna and hired a chamber there. And after I knew where the consul's house was, went thither, and inquired of the janizaries, i. e.

Turkish soldiers, which kept guard at his door, whether the consul was at home: they directed me to one of his three interpreters, who brought me to him. The consul not knowing who I was, complimented me much, because I was handsomely apparelled; and I returned the compliment to him after the Turkish manner, and then delivered him my letter of recommendation. Which was as follows.*

SIR, Algier, June 14, 1694.

It must raise a melancholy consideration in every merciful heart, to observe a well disposed body and mind in danger of inevitable ruin, by a fatal destiny of consuming its most improveable years of strength and vigour in a detested course.

It would, therefore, by a generous attempt to reinstate such an object into the discharge of its most immediate natural duty, be a distinguishing mark of a true votary to the welfare of his country; whereto I am fully assured, you will exert your steadiness and conduct.

I am, Sir, your most faithful, humble servant,

THOMAS BAKER.

To William Raye, Esq. consul of
the English nation at Smyrna.

* A copy of this letter Consul Baker gave me a few years since, when I waited upon him at his house near St. James's Park, Westminster. On the back of it he had writ thus,—Copy of my letter to Consul Raye at Smyrna, to favour the escape of Joseph Pitts, an English renegado, from a squadron of Algier men of war. Had my kindness to him been discovered to the government of Algier, my legs and arms had first been broken, and my carcase burnt. A danger hitherto not courted by any.

The consul having perused the letter, bid the interpreter to withdraw, because he should not understand any thing of the matter. After he was gone, the consul asked me whether I was the man mentioned in the letter. I told him I was. He said the design was very dangerous, and that if it should be known to the Turks that he was any way concerned in it, it was as much as his life, and his all was worth. But after he had discoursed me further, and found that I was fully resolved in the matter, he told me that, "truly were it not upon Mr. Baker's request, he would not meddle in such a dangerous attempt; but for the friendship and respect he bore to him, he would do me all the kindness he could:" which put life into me.

We had no English nor Dutch ships at Smyrna then, but daily expected some; he told me, I must wait till they came, and withal cautioned me not to frequent his house, unless upon some more than ordinary business. A day or two after this, I was sitting in a barber's shop, who was an Armenian, where both Christians and Turks did shave; and there was then an Englishman shaving, whose name was George Grunsell, of Deptford. He knew me not otherwise than a Turk, but when I heard him speak English, I asked him in English, whether he knew of any of the west-parts of England to be in Smyrna? He told me of one, who he thought was an Exeter-man, which when I heard, I was glad at heart. I desired him to shew me his house, which he very kindly did: but when I came to speak with Mr. Eliot, for so was his name, I found him to be one of Cornwall, who

had served some part of his apprenticeship in Exon, with Mr. Henry Cudmore a merchant; he was very glad to see me for country's sake: after some discourse, I communicated to him my design, and how I had been with the consul. He was very glad to hear of it, and promised to assist me, and told me, that I need not run the hazard of going to the consul's house, but if I had any thing of moment to impart to him, he would do it for me. I thought it good to follow his friendly advice.

In a month's time it was cried about the city of Smyrna, that all Algerines should repair to their ships, which lay then at Rhodes, another island inhabited by Greeks, as Scio, and governed by the Turks.

You must observe, that no Algerine is forced to return to Algier again, but they may discharge themselves when they please.

All this while no English or Dutch ships came to Smyrna; the consul and Mr. Eliot therefore consulted which was my best way to take; to stay at Smyrna after all the Algerines were gone, would look suspiciously; and therefore they advised me not to tarry there, but either to go to Scio with the Algerines, which is part of our way back to Rhodes, or else to go up to Constantinople; and when there, to write to the said Mr. Eliot, and acquaint him where I was; and stay there till I had directions from them to return to Smyrna, or what else to do.

I pursued their advice, and went with some of the Algerines to Scio, and there made a stop till

all the Algerines were gone from thence, and then writ Mr. Eliot where I was. A short time after, he writ me, that he was very glad that I was where I was, but withal, gave a damp to my spirits, with the bad news, that our Smyrna fleet were said to be intercepted by the French, with the cold reserve of comfort, that it wanted confirmation, and that they hoped it was not true.

Now the devil was very busy with me, tempting me to lay aside all thoughts of escaping, but to return to Algier, and continue a mussulman. What with the temptation, and what with the disappointment, I was very melancholy. But here the goodness of God was manifested to me in such a measure, that I at last surmounted all the temptations and fears that so furiously beset me, which were indeed very great: for it was suggested to me, first, that it was a very difficult, if not desperate attempt, to endeavour to make my escape; and that if I were discovered in it, I should be put to death after the most cruel and exemplary manner: and also, in the next place, the loss that I should sustain thereby, in several respects, viz. the loss of the profitable returns which I might make of what money I had, to Algier; and of receiving eight months pay due to me there, and the frustrating my hopes and expectations which I had from my patroon, who made me large promises of leaving me considerable substance at his death: and I believe he meant as he promised; for I must acknowledge he was like a father to me.

After I had my liberty to go from him, or live

with him, I chose the latter; and he was so willing of it, that he gave me my meat, coffee, washing, lodging, and clothes freely: and in short, loved me as if I had been his own child; which made me sincerely to love him, I do acknowledge. This was also a great temptation to me to return to Algier.

In the midst of all, I would pray to God for his assistance, and found it. For I bless God, that after all my acquaintance were gone from Scio to Rhodes, I grew daily better and better satisfied, though my fears were still very great, you must imagine; and I was indeed afraid every body I met did suspect my design. And I can truly say, that I would not go through such a labyrinth of sorrows and troubles again, might I gain a kingdom. Nay at this very hour, when I reflect upon my danger, my concern revives, and my very flesh trembles; for if my design had by any means been discovered, I should undoubtedly have been put to death. perhaps there at Scio, or else secured in the Algerine ships, and my dreadful punishment would have been reserved till I was brought back to Algier, there to be made a public example for all renegadoes to take warning by for the future. For it is certain death for all in the like circumstances with me, who endeavour to make their escape, if it be known.

The manner of executing renegadoes when they are found attempting to make, or are retaken after they have made their escape, is as follows. As soon as such an one is brought before the dey, sentence is at once past upon him. Upon which

the *mizwear*, i. e. executioner ties his feet with one end of a rope, and fastens the other at the tail of a mule which is got ready for the purpose, at about ten or twelve feet distance, and then drags the apostate, as they style him, about the streets on the stones some hours. The Mahometans are so far from shewing the poor wretch the least pity, that they do nothing but revile him. The executioner going before the mule loudly proclaims his crime. After they have exposed him in this terrible manner till he is almost dead, they draw him without the gate *bab el wait*, to a place where the Jews bury their dead, where they get a fire, and burn him to ashes. This I have seen done with my own eyes: and had I been discovered or taken, must have been served in the same manner myself. But the good providence of God ordered it better for me.

While I was at Scio, I wrote, as I said, a letter to our English consul Mr. Raye, and to Mr. Eliot, acquainting them with what strong temptations I was assaulted. They answered me with very kind and comfortable lines, which gave great life to my drooping spirits.

The first letter that Mr. Eliot sent me while I was at Scio, he directed to a Greek there, who did business for the consul of Smyrna, to be delivered to me, naming me by my Turkish name. I was altogether unknown to the Greek, so that he was forced to inquire among the Algerines for one of that name; and indeed there were one or two more of the same name with myself, but they were gone from Scio to Rhodes. When the letter came

to my hands, and I saw the superscription I trembled exceedingly, imagining there had been danger of its falling into either of the other Algerines hands; for I did not then know that Mr. Eliot had been so good and careful as to send the Greek a particular description of me, as my age, stature, complexion, that I was an Englishman, a native of Exeter, &c. on purpose to prevent any mistake in the delivery of the letter. This he hath since informed me of, and my ignorance of it was the cause of that blunder in page 172 and 173 of the first edition of my book, which seemed to cast a reflection (though I did not design it as such) upon that worthy gentleman, to whom I am more obliged than to all the other friends I have in the world. For this I have begged his pardon, and take this opportunity of doing it in the most public manner.

When I first came to Scio from Smyrna, according to the advice of these my true friends, the consul and Mr. Eliot, I happened to take up my lodging at a *hawn*, or inn, adjoining to the harbour, where were two Algerines, who were Spanish renegadoes; I had no acquaintance with them at all, for they belonged not to the same ship that I did, nor do I remember that I had ever seen them before; but being all Algerines, we soon became familiarily acquainted; insomuch that they would fain have me lodge in the same room with them; accordingly I did, but the next day I better considered of it, and thought it not convenient to be so near the harbour, because the Algerines would be often asking of me when I would return to Al-

gier; and laying matters together, I thought likewise, that I were better break off society with these two fellows; which I did, and removed to one end of the town, to a Greek's house, where I hired a room. The two said renegadoes found me out, and were still very desirous to be with me; to which I at length consented. And when I better knew them, their company pleased me, because I could not observe any thing of the Mahometan religion in them; neither would they at any time talk of going to Rhodes, where our ships lay; which made me at last suspect that they were of my mind, designing to make their escape. And what somewhat confirmed me in this suspicion, was this, the younger of them would sometimes speak slightly of Mahomet, calling him *sabbatero*, i. e. shoe-maker, and the other would seem faintly to reprove him for it; and I also would shew my dislike of it, though I was truly pleased to hear it. But it seems this was all to try me. And indeed I would sometimes try them too, and therefore would take an Arabic alcoran in my hand to read, of which they were both wholly ignorant, and they would laugh at me, and at last came to pop the alcoran out of my hand, and blow out the candle, telling me, I should read no more. At length we came to know one another's mind, and I found that they applied themselves to some French priests in Smyrna, to make their escape, as I did to the consul, and Mr. Eliot.

About this time I received another letter from Mr. Eliot, in which he informed me, that the reported bad news concerning our ships being inter-

cepted by the French was true, but that he and the consul had consulted that day what was best to be done for my safety; and upon due consideration, were of opinion that it would be in vain for me to wait for any English ships, for it might be a long time before any came, and it would be charge and loss of time for me to stay for them. And therefore they advised me to go off in a French ship, though somewhat more expensive, and in order thereunto, to hasten back again to Smyrna in the first boat that came.

Accordingly I came to Smyrna again, and went immediately to Mr. Grunsell's house, who received me gladly; for he, with some other of my friends, was afraid that I had gone back to Algier.

I lodged at Mr. Grunsell's house, and kept myself very private for the space of twenty days, till the French ship was ready to sail: where I was visited daily by Mr. Eliot, who (I thank him) did always administer comfort to me, under my fears, which were not small; particularly because I had heard how an Englishman was served who turned Turk in Algier, and made his escape, but afterward using the seas, made a voyage to Smyrna; the Algerines happened to be there at that time, and as he was in a barber's shop, some of them passing by, seemed to remember him; he suspecting it, went away immediately: the Turks followed him, and he perceiving it, made the more haste, at which the Turks pursued him the more closely, and he, to avoid them, ran into an English factor's house; but the Turks were so close upon him, that he had not power to make fast the door after

him; so that they cut him in pieces. This was but a few years before I came away; which (together with my being acquainted too well with their cruelty, which they glory in, when it is, as they think it, for the cause of religion) filled me with great fears, and dreadful apprehensions.

Now the French ship, in which I was to make my escape, was intended to sail the next day; and therefore in the evening I went on board, apparelled as an Englishman, with my beard shaven, a campaign periwig, and a cane in my hand, accompanied with three or four of my friends. The boat which carried us on board, was brought just to the house where I lodged; and as we were going into it there were some Turks of Smyrna walking by, but they smelt nothing of the matter. My good friend Mr. Eliot had agreed with the captain of the ship to pay four pounds for my passage to Leghorn; but neither he nor any of the Frenchmen knew who I was. Mr. Eliot only told him that my parents were desirous of my return home to England. My friends, after they had brought me safe on board, took their leave of me, and told me that if the ship, did not sail the next morning, they would visit me again, which accordingly they did, (the ship not sailing,) and brought wine and victuals on board; upon which they were very merry, but for my part, I was exceedingly uneasy till the ship had made sail. I pretended myself ignorant of all foreign languages, because I would not be known to the French, who (if we had met with any Algerines) I was afraid would be so far from shewing me any favour so as to conceal me, that

they would readily discover who I was, had they been let into the secret, and give me up into their hands.

In our voyage we were chased by a privateer, which made me very melancholy, fearing it might be one of the Algerines who sailed from Rhodes but a few days before us. I leave the reader to judge of the distress I was then in; but it was not able to come up with us. We thought afterwards, that it was a Spanish privateer, with whom the French had then war.

We had a month's passage from Smyrna to Leghorn, and I was never at rest in my mind till we arrived; where as soon as ever I came ashore, I prostrated myself and kissed the earth, blessing Almighty God, for his undeserved mercy and goodness to me, that I once more set footing on the European, Christian part of the world. The custom of Leghorn, (as well as of some other parts) is, when any ships come from Turkey, or Barbary, not to suffer the men straightway to come ashore, fearing lest their country should be infected with the plague, because the Turks and Moors country is seldom entirely free from it: therefore, I say, they will not permit any to come ashore directly, but they and their cargo are put on an island, and there they are to perform their quarantine, i. e. to stay forty days; after which, every man of them is searched by the physician, and if they find no infection upon any of them, they are admitted ashore; but if any of them should chance to die within forty days, then they must begin the quarantine again. When we came out of Smyrna it was pretty free

from the plague; which they having intelligence of, ordered us to remain on the said island only five and twenty days; during which time, every day, necessaries are brought to be sold, but the sellers keep themselves at a distance from us, laying down their provisions, and telling aloud the price; then we that buy, put the price of them into a vessel of water, placed there on purpose, and afterwards they come and take out the money.

It happened a few days after I had been upon the Lazaret, i. e. the said island, that there came a French vessel from Algier, in which were some redeemed slaves, amongst whom were some Dutchmen, and one of them was a nigh neighbour of mine in Algier, who was mightily surprised, but very glad to see me; and said, that he, with the rest of his countrymen, would be glad of my company homeward, for that they had rather travel home by land than by sea. I was no less glad of their company, than they of mine; and therefore after being permitted to go ashore, and tarrying in Leghorn one night, the next day we set out on our journey. It was about Christmas time, when there was very frosty weather, and great snows fell, so that we travelled twenty days in the snow. The first day we set out from Leghorn we came to Pisa; from thence to Florence; from thence to Bolognia; and so onward. We had a note of all cities and towns we were to pass through, as far as to Ausburgh. After I had travelled with my company about two hundred miles in Italy, and was just entering into Germany, my left leg failed me, so that I was not able to hold on with them;

whereupon they went away and left me, fearing their money would fall short, if they should stay for me.

Being thus left behind I was much troubled; but it pleased God to mitigate my pains, and the next day I followed them, but never could overtake them, they being always a day's journey before me.

When I had gone these two hundred miles with them, I was forced to travel five hundred more, (as they told me it was) on foot in Germany, till I came to Francfort. I fell into some troubles in travelling through Germany; and among them this was one, viz. one day I had travelled through a great wood, and as I came out of it, I met with four or five German soldiers, who bid me stand; I did; they examined me, and I gave them an account of myself; they made me go back with them, saying, I was a Frenchman, come as a spy into their country. I earnestly begged of them to let me go; they would not, but carried me back into the wood again, and brought me to a bye place, which made me very much afraid they would take away my life; and I have been since told by one of that country, that I had a very narrow escape, because the Germans seldom rob without committing murder. There they robbed me of my money, as much as they could find, then beat me, and bid me be gone: but as Divine Providence ordered it, they did not strip me; for if they had, they would have found more money about me.

When I came to Ausburgh, I thought the river Rhine had come up so far, but was mistaken; for I was informed, that I must travel still further on foot, viz. to Francfort, upon the Maine, which

was about an hundred and fifty miles more. It could not be helped, and therefore put to it I must. I got directions for as far as that place, and found it many a weary step; but the thoughts of getting home at last put new life and strength into me. When I got to Francfort it was about sun-set, and the gates of the city were just ready to be shut; for they had then war with France. When I offered to go in, the centinals who were upon duty at the gate, demanded of me, who I was? I told them, an Englishman. They asked me, whence I came? I replied, from Leghorn; but they would not believe me. They bid me produce my passport, but I had none, because the above-mentioned company took it with them, when I was left behind; and the want of it was the occasion of many troubles to me in my travels. Upon this they would not allow me entrance, but told me to go to such a particular way, and about a mile and half off I should find a village, where I might lodge; for there was not so much as one house without the walls. I desired them to have some compassion upon me; and told them, that I knew not the way; that it was almost dark; and withal, that I was weary and faint, having travelled a great way that day. But all the arguments I could make use of were to no purpose, and so the gate was shut. Upon meeting with such an unexpected repulse, I sat down on the ground and wept; for I had not a bit of bread to eat, nor any fire to warm myself in the extremely cold season which then was, though I had a little money which soon supplied all my wants; for looking about me,

I, at last, spied an hut, or little house of boards, not far from the gate, where some soldiers kept guard; I made towards it, and the corporal seeing the condition I was in, took pity on me, and called me in, where they had a good fire. After I had warmed myself, he gave me some of his victuals, for which seasonable kindness I gave him money to fetch us some good liquor. One of the soldiers very gladly went to the village whither I had been directed for a lodging, and brought some wine in a bucket; so that with their victuals, and the wine, I very well refreshed myself, and lying down on the boards slept comfortably. I thought there had been some English merchants in the city, and therefore desired the corporal to conduct me to one of them; but he could find none. At length he brought me to a French gentleman's house, who had a son which lived in England some time, and was lately returned home; by whom I was made very welcome: his name was Mr. Vander Laher. I very well remember, when I came first before him, he asked me, whether I was a Roman Catholic, or Protestant, I replied, a Protestant. No matter for that, said he, we are bound to do good to strangers. I lived, added he, three years in London, and found English people very civil to me. He then inquired, what my particular business was with him? I told him, to procure a pass to go safe down the river, (for they are so strict there, in time of war, as to examine even their own countrymen) and, at the same time, desired him to change a pistole for me, and give me such money as would pass current at the places I was to call at

on my way; for I had sometimes changed a piece of gold, and before all the exchange of it was expended in my travels, I could not put off some of the money without loss. He changed my pistole for me, and told me what money would pass in such and such place; and what I should reserve till last, to spend in Holland. He was, moreover, so exceedingly civil, as to go with me to the public office, where he stated my case, and easily got a pass for me, without any charge.

He then conducted me to the river side, where was a boat, almost full of passengers, ready to set out for Mentz. This obliging gentleman told the master of the boat, that he would satisfy him for my passage; and desired an acquaintance of his in the boat to take care of me, and when we got to Mentz, to direct me to a certain merchant, for whom he gave me a letter, and therewith a piece of money to drink his health.

When we came to Mentz, every man was to produce his passport; and as they were looking over, the person in the boat who was desired to take care of me, sent a boy to call the merchant, to whom I was to deliver the letter; who immediately came, and having perused it, invited me to his house.

This gentleman happened to be a slave in Algier, at the same time I was; which made me the more welcome to him. He inquired of me about his patroon, whom I knew very well; and many other things we talked of, relating to Algier. I received much kindness from this gentleman; for he paid off my quarters for that night, gave me victuals and money for my passage from Mentz to Cologn;

and, moreover, sent by me a letter of recommendation to a correspondent of his there.

At Cologn I received the like kindness, having my passage paid for to Rotterdam; and if I would, might have had a recommendatory letter to some gentleman there too; but I refused it, being unwilling to be too troublesome to my friends.

I found great kindness at Rotterdam, where when it was known that there was one come from Algier, several flocked about me; some inquiring for their husbands, and others for their children, to whom I gave the best account I could. And at Helvoetsluys, whither our English packet-boats sail from Harwich, I had the same civility shewn me. But when I came into England, my own native country, I met with but coarse treatment; for the very first night I lay ashore I was impressed into the king's service, we having at that time war with France. And though I made known my condition, acquainting them how many years I had been in slavery; and used many arguments for my liberty, with tears, yet nothing would prevail, but away I must go, and I was accordingly carried to Colchester prison, where I lay some days. While I was there, I writ two letters, one to Sir William Falkener, who was one of the Smyrna, or Turkey Company in London, on whom I had a bill for a little money; the other was to my father in Exeter, to acquaint him with my escape from Turkey: and that I had been in England, if I should die on the voyage or be lost at sea, must have been no small satisfaction to my relations, had it so happened. In a few days I was put on board a smack, which

was appointed to carry the impressed men to the Dreadnought man of war. I had not been long here, before my name was called, there being a letter for me. I could not conceive from whence it should come, for I knew it was too soon to have an answer from Exeter: and I was very far from expecting any from London; nay, I blamed myself in my own thoughts, for writing as I did to a gentleman I was a perfect stranger to, imagining he would take no manner of notice of me. But upon opening the letter, I found it to be from Sir William Falkener, who, upon the reception of mine, immediately went to the Admiralty Office, got a protection for me, and sent it with all speed to me. This made me rejoice exceedingly, and I could not forbear leaping upon the deck. The ship's crew were highly pleased with the news. I went to the lieutenant, and asked him, whether he had not a protection for me; he told me, yes, there it was; and I might go ashore whenever I pleased. This was not only my present discharge, but prevented all further trouble of that kind on the road homeward, which otherwise I must have met with.

When I came to Exeter, I thought it would not be prudent to make myself known to my father at once, lest it should quite overcome him; and therefore went to a public-house not far from where he lived, and inquired for some who were my playmates before I went to sea. They told me, there was one Benjamin Chapel lived near there, with whom I had been very intimate while a lad. I sent for him, and acquainted him who I was, desiring he would go to my father, and bring

it out to him by degrees. This he readily undertook, well knowing he should be a most welcome messenger, and in a little time brought my father to me. The house was soon filled with the neighbourhood, who came to see me. What joy there was at such a meeting, I leave the reader to conceive of, for it is not easily expressed. The first words my father said to me, were, Art thou my son Joseph? with tears. Yes, father, I am, said I. He immediately led me home, many people following us; but he shut the door against them, and would admit no one, till falling on his knees, he had returned hearty thanks to God for my signal deliverance. My mother died about a year before my return.

I was in Algier about fifteen years, and after I left it, it was near a twelvemonth ere I could reach home.

Thus I have given the world a brief, but true account of my travels, the troubles I met with, and the kind providences of a good God towards me; which, if it be in any respect of the least service to any individual person, I shall reckon it a great happiness. And, for my own part, I hope I shall never forget the wonderful goodness of the Lord towards me, whose blessed name I desire to glorify in the sight of all men.

To him, therefore, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, three persons, and one God, be all honour, glory, and praise, world without end. Amen.

FINIS.

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